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Editor

Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani

CHAIRMAN
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Damkot – Terracotta plaque
depicting Buddha in the
Preaching pose. 6th Century A.D.

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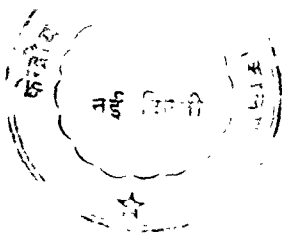
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Chakdara Fort and Gandhara Art

EDITED

BY

PROF. AHMAD HASAN DANI



Recd. for (through D.G.A.) from Prof. F.A. Dani, Chairman, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Kashmir, Srinagar (Pakistan) on 26/3/79

Pl. 1. Panoramic View of Chakdara.



In the background of the hills the meandering river Swat presents a bewitching spectacle. The tower of Churchill Point dominates the excavated ruins on the right linked by an iron bridge over the river with the main Swat road on the right. The old ruins lie in the neighbourhood. No. 1 is Shamale w Chakdara sitting on an old historic site. No. 3 is Kamal Khan China with a Hindu Shahi fort. No. 4 is Ramora with a Buddhist monastery. No. 5 is B Alexander the Great. No. 6 is Thana and No. 7 is the Shahkot Pass that leads from Thana to Peshawar plain.

the foreground and the British fort
age graves No. 2 is the village of
with the old fort of Bazira besieged by

FOREWORD

With the publication of the fourth volume of the Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology, the University of Peshawar has now completed its fourth project of excavations and explorations in and around Chakdara in the district of Dir. The present excavations have extended the archaeological history of Dir from the Protohistoric into early historic and late historic periods. From about 2000 B.C. to A.D. 1000 the archaeology of Dir has now been reconstructed. On the basis of these new materials this hill-girt region of Dir has been brought to the lime-light, and its cultural history is now firmly rooted on a chronological scheme now built up by archaeology. For achieving this object, the Chairman of the Department Prof. A.H. Dani and the staff of the Department of Archaeology deserve the compliments of every one of us.

The present volume is mainly devoted to two problems. The first deals with the vexed question of the chronology of the Gandhara art and the Buddhist stupas and monasteries. This question has been tackled by several scholars of the world earlier but here Prof. Dani has proposed a scheme based on the results of his excavations conducted on the principle of stratigraphy. It is hoped that these materials will go a long way in opening a new avenue to tackle this problem. The second deals with an entirely new field of archaeology of the Hindu Shahi period — a period of about two centuries just before the conquests of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. So far no work has been done in this period at all. Historical records have also been extremely meagre in respect of this ruling dynasty. The excavation at Damkot presents an absolutely new picture of life that was then prevailing in this part of the world.

The work at Chakdara was undertaken with full financial support from the authorities of the then Dir Agency. Prof. Dani has asked me to thank specially Mr. Rahatullah Jaral, C.S.P., T.Q.A., the then Political Agent, who took personal interest in the project from the beginning till end. The people of Dir have been very kind in lending full cooperation to the excavation team. They fully deserve the dedication of this volume to them. It is a matter of great gratification that the Government of the North-West Frontier Province are building a museum at Chakdara to house all the archaeological materials found during the excavations and explorations, which will be an added attraction in this region.

Mr. Abdul Hashim Khan, S.Q.A.,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Peshawar.

20 September 1971.

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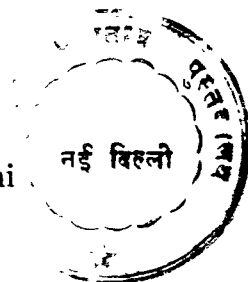
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INTRODUCTION

By Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani

(i)



ENVIRONS OF CHAKDARA

Chakdara is a military outpost on the right bank of the river Swat, giving an access to Dir and Chitral — two of the hill districts spreading south of the Pamir Knot on Pakistan side. The present military post, which occupies a low ridge, was built by the British in 1896 to safeguard an iron bridge that spans the Swat river. It is actually on a site, traditionally known as Shah Dheri. Abul Fazl¹ notes that when Akbar's forces were carrying out operations against the Yusufzais, the fort at Chakdara was first built by Zain Khan Koka in 1586. The Mughal fort is not traceable today although Mughal coins have been found off and on in this area.

The name Chakdara appears to be of Mughal origin and can be explained as the "Revenue Circle" (*Chak*) of the "Pass" (*Dara*). Abul Fazl² includes Chakdara in his description of the revenue settlement of the time of Akbar but he does not say that the name was given by the Mughals. This silence has led some to conjecture that the original word may have been *Chakradhara*, "the Wielder of Wheel" — a name of the Hindu god Vishnu, but there is no association of this god with the site. Others opine that this was the pass where a local tribe, called the *Chakas*, dwelt. However, we have so far no historical evidence about this tribe.

Chakdara is located 72°1' E. longitude and 37°7' N. latitude, 82 miles north-east of Peshawar. From Chakdara the roads lead on either side of the river Swat to Saidu Sharif, the headquarter of Swat district (formerly State), 30 miles to the east. Northward the road goes to Timargarha (or Timar Qila), 25 miles away. There it bifurcates into two — one goes across the river Panchkora to Bajaur and the other follows the left bank of this river and proceeds to Dir, 51 miles away, and beyond to Chitral, 138 miles from Chakdara.

1. *Akbar nama*, Eng. Tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III., PP. 725-32.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*,

The modern village of Chakdara is about a mile away from the British fort and is separated from it by a *Khwar* (hill torrent) that flows into the river Swat. The village occupies an ancient site, where pot-sherds of the early historic period are picked up. At one end of the village the remains of still older graves¹ are found. The British fort is dominated on its west by a range of hill that gradually rises across a metalled road and is washed by the river Swat on its south. This range drops down to a saddle on the west while joining the main hill to its north, that curves around a circle. The area within the circle, called *Shamalai* (i.e. "jointly owned by several people"), is now given to cultivation. An unmetalled road passes through its middle, cuts through the western saddle and follows down the Swat river on its right bank.

The dominating range on the west is crowned by a picket, popularly known as Churchill Point after the name of Capt. (later Sir) Winston Churchill who came here during the Malakand Campaign of 1897. The picket was properly called *Shisho Guard*, as it served as a guard-post for mirror-signalling to Malakand in the old British days. This guard room has incorporated the remains of an ancient wall (Pl. 67 b), that formed a part of a Pre-Muslim fort (See Section IV). The local people remember this site by the name of Damkot.

The neighbourhood of Chakdara presents a picturesque surrounding (See pl. I). The hills around and the sonorous Swat river, with its wide open valley, lush with the greenery of paddy fields, poplars and other ever-green trees, have unforgettable attractions. For how long the country has made an appeal to man is difficult to say but the very name Swat, deriving from the Vedic Sanskrit *Suvastu*, meaning "Fair-dwellings," speaks of its hoary antiquity. How many other old names still survive in this area is a subject of further research. But today the surrounding places are associated with names having apparent connection with the modern Pashto language.

Churchill Point gives a wonderful view of the river Swat. Far in the distant east, about 12 miles away, the ridge of Barikot, generally identified with Bazira of Alexander's time, shoots up from the heart of the river. Nearer in view the hamlets of Thana range along the slope of the hill. Still nearer the white shining water flows placidly in the middle of the plain with hills towering around. Chakdara fort abuts on to this enclosed plain just to the north of the river at the southern entrance of its

1. *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III, 1967, P. 233.

northern half. The southern portion is known as Swat Ranizai while the northern plain is called Adinzai. This Adinzai plain slopes from east to west and a *Khwar* (hill torrent) skirts the foot of the western hill and later separates the British fort from the village (see above). A number of minor torrents coming from the east flow into this main *Khwar*. These torrents carry flood water generally during winter and roll down huge boulders from the high hills into the plain below with the result that the surface is strewn over with pebbles and stones. The hills have been much shaken in the past and the rocks tilted, twisted and turned. In the crevices and slopes wind-swept earth is deposited, which supports sparse forest. Occasionally water springs overflow from underneath the crevices and help in sustaining human habitation and nourishing food and fodder. The human settlements are near these natural springs, and wherever such springs exist or have existed in the past, occupational sites are invariably found. This water resource has tended to perpetuate settlements on the same spots from period to period. The paucity of rainfall has stood in the way of greater agricultural produce and as a result there are fewer great urban centres in the plain. Only two sites are worth noting. One is the old site of Chakdara, already recorded above. The other is Uchh (*Ushk* or correctly *Sushka*, meaning dry), about six miles away from Chakdara in the middle of the Adinzai plain.

This hill-girt plain of Adinzai has numerous outlets. The iron bridge at Chakdara connects it with Ranizai on the south of the river Swat. Up along the northern bank of this river an unmetalled road goes through the village of Chakdara, passes over many *Khwars*, comes into the important site of Ramora and crossing over a high hilly passage, descends into the plain of Shamozaï in Swat district. Further ahead another bridge spans the river Swat and connects with Barikot. Bypassing this bridge the road goes straight on that side of the river towards Mingora, the market town adjacent to Saidu Sharif. Another outlet through a gap in the north-east leads into Aspan¹ valley; which is also drained by a hill torrent. Across this torrent a pathway goes to a small valley of Bambolai, occupied in the early historic period by a group of Buddhist settlements. A high hill separates this valley from Nimogram — another Buddhist site on the Swat side of the border.

The main passage out of this plain is to the north where the eastern hills leave a gap just before they come close to the western range. This gap is called Katkela pass, through which runs the main road to Dir

1. The name *Aspan* recalls the ancient people *Aspayanas* or *Asvayanas*, mentioned by Panini in his famous grammar. They lived here at the time of Alexander's invasion.

and Chitral. The pass opens out into Talash Valley, where the market town of Ziarat is a place of some significance. Today the shops line along the modern road but the main village spreads out at the foot of the hill, and still older remains, known as Gumbad, hang on to the side of the hill. Higher up on the top fortified walls enclose wide breathing space to give shelter and cooler climatic conditions to warriors of strength. Such forts are traceable right upto the northern most point of this valley, where a Guro *Khwar* coming from the east falls into the river Panchkora and forces it to bend southward and cut through the hill and flow along its western side, thus leaving the Talash plain dry. At the bend of the river Panchkora stands the impregnable fort of Guro Doba. Here the valley comes to an end, and a difficult passage over the Kamrani Pass descends into the cup-shape vale of Timargarha.¹

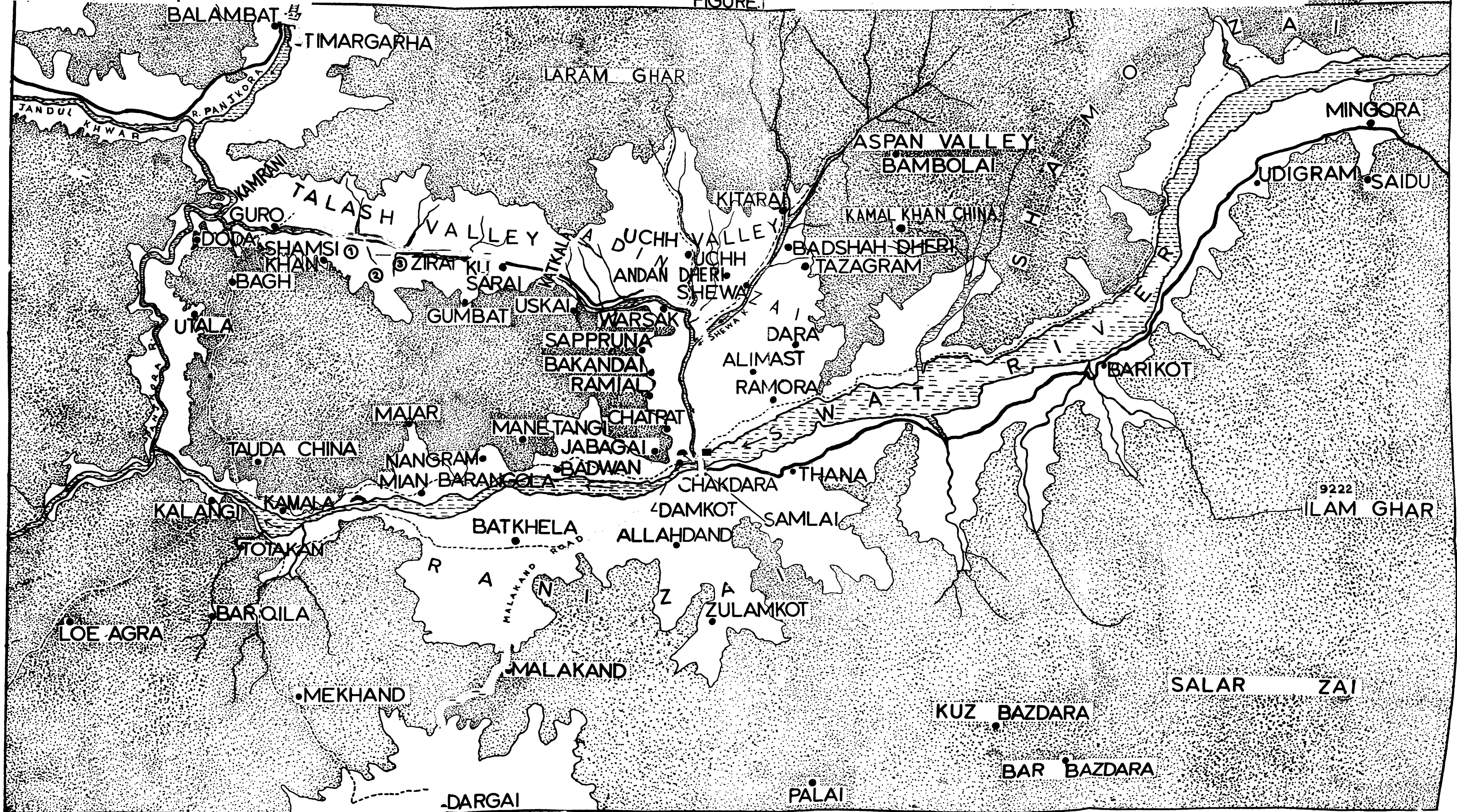
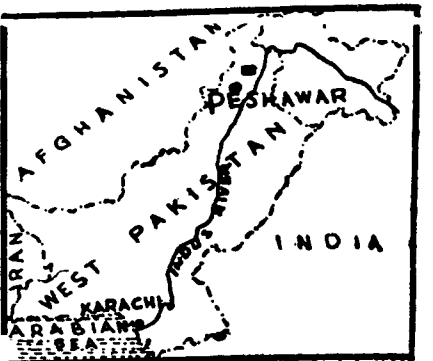
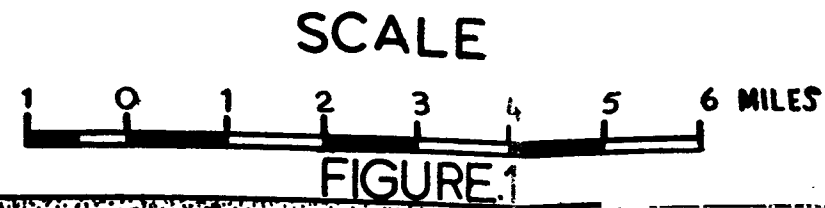
Down the river Swat a western passage, as we have noted before, cuts through the saddle and an unmetalled road goes between the hill on the north and the river on the south. The road passes through Abazai and beyond Mian Barangola into Khadakzai area. The last point is Kamala, 16 miles from Chakdara, where the river bends to the north until it is joined by Panchkora in the hilly zone of Pingal. This combined water further breaks through the hill and pushes southward to proceed to the Peshawar plain. Beyond Kamala there is no road but pathway leads over the hills of Arang and Barang to Utmankhel and over to Bajaur.

The environs of Chakdara (See fig. 1) in Dir district, described above, include the northern drainage zone of the middle Swat river when it leaves Barikot on the east and disappears in the hills beyond Kamala — a total distance of about 30 miles. We have also noted an unmetalled road running along the whole length of the northern bank. The road goes between the hill and the river, now low and now high, as the hill impinges on to the river or moves farther away in twisted bends or circuitous directions. It is when the hill is away from the river that plains and valleys open out in the north and they provide the needed land for agricultural settlement. At the same time the hills have sent down torrents of flood water with their stony pebbles rolled along with them and strewn all over like a mantle. Where the rain water has found a level for deposition, they begin to overflow in small springs. Such water springs abound in glens and narrow valleys that penetrate deep and high into the twisted bends of the hills. The higher we go, the better we find the climatic condition for living and

1. For detailed description see *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III, 1967, P. 14-15.

CHAKDARA AND ITS ENVIRONS

- ① AMLUK DARA
- ② MACHO
- ③ NASAPA



from over the top the beautiful view of the river Swat is never missed. It is in these sequestered corners, far away from the common rut of the worldly life, but giving full gaze of the dramatic panorama of human living, that the Buddhists of the early historic period founded their monastic settlements. It is again on their historic sites that later human occupation has continued the story of man till our own time.

South of the river Swat we have noted the plain of Ranizai. This plain is separated from the Peshawar valley by the towering range of the Malakand hill but the separation is not final. Various routes cross over the Malakand Range and link the two plains for the common pursuit of human living. It is therefore not insignificant that the plain sloping from the southern side of Malakand bears the name of Sama Ranizai, indicating that the people north and south of this hill belong to the same Pash-tun grouping. This link has also continued through history in the past. The greatest symbol of the bond is the common creation of the Gandhara art. How far the artistic products of the two valleys are identical, is a subject of future research. One step to the understanding of this aspect of the art is to get a closer view of the materials obtaining in the localised areas. This detailed study is possible as each locality has its own quarry of raw materials and if different schools flourished in the different zones, the result must come out in such regional studies. At one time during the ninth and tenth centuries the Hindu Shahi rulers tried to build up a defensive system — a chain of forts in two rows, one along the Malakand hill south of the river Swat and the other along the northern hill north of the river, thus keeping the Swat valley a special preserve of their own when Peshawar valley was being assailed by the Muslims. It is at this time that Shahkot pass linking Thana, Palai and over to Katlang was much in use. The name Shahkot is probably derived from the Hindu Shahis. Not far from this pass is a fort on the top of the hill locally known as Kafirkot. The Palai plain produces a deadening effect on the mind — once a sweet home of Buddhism bubbling with numerous monasteries and stupas studded with tall figures of the Buddha but now a valley of dethroned gods, mutilated sculptures, broken walls and dilapidated monasteries. Down below, not far from the Swat river, is the market town of Batkhela, to the east of which extends an enormous graveyard right up on the hill slope. How long this place of the dead has been in use, is difficult to say. Tradition traces its beginning to the *Ghazis* (martyrs), who laid down their lives while beseiging the Pre-Muslim Chakdara fort probably in the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The name Batkhela is associated with Bata, the hill peak near this town, where pine trees still bear witness to the once human settlement on its top for defensive purposes. At the foot of this hill

the old Hindu Shahi fort of Bata still stands in dilapidated condition. Further west can be seen the gap of Malakand, through which passes the modern road that goes from Peshawar to Swat. This gap is again protected by a fort — the modern sitting over the ruins of old. The Malakand fort gives a view of both the sides — the Peshawar plain on the south and the Swat valley on the north. On the southern side of the Swat river a rough road goes up and down towards Totakan. On the hill side several ruined structures stand along the slope. Beyond Totakan is the *Ziarat* of Hisar Baba of the Mughal period. Further ahead is the village of Kolangi, where Buddhist ruins are noted. Far above on the hill slope Hindu Shahi fortification walls and towering structures still speak of the old occupation. The road advances further west and takes a turn to go around the Malakand Range and join at Kot Agra with another road that comes from Dargai on the south of this Range. Near Kolangi the hills come closer and the river Swat narrows. There was a proposal to build a dam across this point but the dam would have submerged the low-lying agricultural fields far beyond Batkhela. However, a bridge across the river would link up the two sides and provide a romantic circuit road for the tourists who may venture to see the living of these secluded people.

This geographic picture provides the background in which Chakdara and its neighbourhood have grown in history. The region is cut off from the usual march of the armies and the travellers. Only those who come through the Bajaur route, like Alexander the Great, might proceed on to the Adinzai plain, but it was possible for others, like Babar, to bypass this zone completely and push down the Kharappa valley over Mohmand territory west of the river Swat. Those travellers who came from China would pass through Sinkiang, Gilgit and upper Swat over to Peshawar plain. Only those who are interested in going to Dir and Chitral would cross the river Swat at Chakdara and have the pleasure of seeing a world entirely different from the surrounding valleys. It is because of this seclusion that far deep in Chitral the traditional Kafiristan (now called Kalash) still retains the age-old practices.

The archaeological study, discussed in this volume is limited to the Adinzai plain though help has been taken to add more evidence from Ramora and Bambolai on the east and Abazai and Khadakzai on the west. The old Chakdara fort at Damkot has provided the main time-scale. The stratigraphic material obtained here has helped in reconstructing a cultural sequence. The sequence is also tested by digging a trench in the similar fort area near Ziarat. Within this time perspective the evolution

of the Gandhara art is seen in the materials excavated mainly from two sites — the stupa complex at Chatpat, not far from Damkot, and Andandheri about four miles north of Chakdara. Materials from Ramora and Bambolai have been added to understand the development of the art further. But of greater significance is the study of the rock engravings made for the first time in this region. One series is seen at the foot of the Damkot site and the other at Mane Tangai in the Khadakzai plain. On the whole the materials are entirely localised and they have been worked out of the local stones. It is, however, not possible to say whether they were made entirely by local craftsmen. After all the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushanas had full control over this area. In the historical activities of these kings Chakdara alone offers the limited environs for a detailed study of the Gandhara art, about which so much confusion prevails even after more than hundred year's examination of the art objects by the scholars of the world.



(ii)

EXCAVATION AND EXPLORATION

In the excavation and exploration carried out in the valley of Panchkora river, round about Timargarha, during 1962-65, the Buddhist remains were found to be few and far between. Specimens of Gandhara art and standing stupas were very rare, although they were plentiful in Bajaur. However, south of the Kamrani pass in Talash valley and in the Adinzai plain, where Chakdara is situated the Buddhist monuments are found in large number. There are also several settlement sites and forts on the hill ranges. It was therefore possible to trace the cultural developments during the historical period by making a systematic survey of these sites. With this object in view the following were carefully examined.

1. *Andandheri*:- This was the first to attract attention as its tall stupa mound caught the traveller's eye from the main Chakdara-Dir road. The site had been given to spoliation for more than a century but the standing high mound with a low flat area in front promised to yield some good materials and therefore its excavation was planned. Its report is published below in this volume (Section II).

About a mile south of Andandheri there is another small stupa mound just on the road side. The stone walls are visible right on the sur-

face but it has been completely robbed of its materials.

About a mile and half north of Andandheri stands the village of Uchh. The whole village occupies an ancient site. A few hundred yards east of the village there are the ruins of a settlement site, known as Badshahdheri. The entire area is today under cultivation. The stone walls have mostly been removed. But off and on coins of the Hindu Shahis are found at the site. A broken inscription on a stone of this period in Sarada character was found by us.

2. *Chatpat*:- When information was received about the robbing away of Buddhist sculptures from Chatpat, we moved on to examine the remains. On way to the above-named village, which is about one mile from the main road, we have to cross a *Khwar* and soon we notice in the field big slabs scattered here and there and some deliberately kept along the heldges. These big slabs of stones were found to belong to the graves of the bronze and iron ages. Further ahead the village huts occupy the slope of a ridge. And below on the edge of a *Khwar* stand the ruined mounds of two stupas, which have been almost completely robbed by the local people. About two furlongs further ahead there is a glen, where a water spring sends down water almost the whole year for the villagers to drink. Right in the corner stand the ruins of a Buddhist settlement, which had also been partly robbed by the people. This site was fully excavated and its report is published in this volume (Section III).

3. *Damkot*:- In Chakdara we heard about the rock engravings in the stones lying on the edge of the Swat river. While on our way to seeing these engravings, we noted pot-sherds strewn on the hill side and on the footpath, over which we were walking. These sherds gave us an indication of the early historic period materials lying over this hill. On climbing up the hill, we noted the ruined walls of a fort at several places, the walls being built of stone diaper masonry. At intervals there were also square bastions. The walls had been broken at many points but sufficient remained on the surface to show that it was a circuit defensive wall going all round the top of the ridge. At the nearby signal tower, called Churchill point, we further noted the old wall having been re-used with a modern wall. But our enquiry has not yielded any information about the knowledge of this fort earlier. As the pottery was very instructive, we hoped to build a good sequence of historical periods at this place. With this purpose the site was excavated, and its report is included in this volume (Section IV).

4. *Jabagai Stupa Site*:- The site is situated at a distance of about four miles from Chakdara on the Chakdara-Badwan road, which runs along the right bank of the river Swat. The ruins lie on the top of the hillock. Here a natural spring still supplies water. The Buddhist ruins occupy an extensive area on the side over-looking the river Swat as well as the flat top that inclines towards the north. On the river side several stupa mounds are noted and on the flat top the ruins of the monastic area are clearly visible. Two stupas excavated yielded some broken sculptures. The stupas, which had rectangular basements, were built of rough stone diaper masonry. Most of the sculptures had been removed earlier by the treasure hunters. In the monastic area a few rooms are seen right on the surface. These rooms, which are square in plan, were originally covered by domes but now the domes have fallen. The system of filling the corners was the same as is noted at Takht-i-Bahi and also at Sanghao in Mardan district.

5. *Machowa*:- Machowa is a small village 13 miles from Chakdara on the Dir road. The village, which stands on the old ruins, is about one mile away from the main road and beyond the village at the foot of the hill, stand the Buddhist ruins. A small *Khwar* flows down the hill. On the west of this *Khwar* is the stupa site and on its east are the ruins of the monastery. The site has also been robbed of its sculptural treasures.

6. *Amlokdara*:- Amlok-dara i.e. the valley of the Amaloka fruit, is so named because of the presence of the Amaloka trees in large number. This valley is reached from the village of Ziarat. One has to walk about a mile and half from the village towards the hill on the south and the site lies east of the *Khwar*. The villagers have turned the site into agricultural fields but through the fields one can observe the votive stupas sticking up their heads. Up on the hill top are the ruins of the Hindu Shahi period.

7. *Shamsi Khan*:- This is a village about a mile away from Ziarat towards Timargarha. From the main road one has to walk about two and half miles through the village of Shamsi Khan in order to reach the site. It occupies the top of a hillock in the centre of a valley, girdled all round by small ranges. Down below runs the *Khwar* through the valley. The robbers have taken away the sculptures but the walls of the stupas are still standing.

8. *Ramora*:- The site is situated at a distance of about two miles on Chakadra-Shamozai road. From the river Swat the site is removed about two furlongs to the north. It is a very big settlement site surround-

ed on three sides by a girdle of hills. A village well takes down the depth of deposit to about ten feet from the present ground level. On the surface the pot-sherds indicate early historic period association. On the slope of the hill the stupa ruins and monastic area are located. One of the stupa was robbed by the local people. Another stupa was partly excavated and a few sculptures found here have been described below in Section II as an appendix to the excavation of Andandheri.

9. *Bambolai*:- The site lies at a distance of ten miles from Chakdara on Aspan road. It occupies one end of a beautiful open valley which is reached after crossing a deep *Khwar*. The main stupa complex is at one end of the hill and the monastery lies ahead on a flat area. Down below on either side of the site water springs are found. The debris of the stupa complex was removed this year. The clearance showed one main stupa in the middle and on its two sides were niches in the same fashion as is found at Chatpat. These niches contained stucco figures but unfortunately all of them had decayed owing to water action. Only a few heads were recovered. They are illustrated and described below in Section II under Andandheri. One beautiful piece of stone sculpture (Pl. 29 b. No. 50) depicting *Dipankara Jataka* was also found here. It seems that this piece was brought from somewhere else and re-fixed here.

Beyond this site there is a tall range that separates this Buddhist site from that of Nimogram, now in Swat district.

10. *Kamal Khan China*:- The line of mountains running along the east side of Chakdara-Uchh valley has thrown several spurs, along with their attendant seasonal streams into the valley itself. One of these spurs running almost north-south separates Shamozaï from Adinzai territory and forms border line between Swat and Dir districts. It is upon the western slope of this spur that the remains of an ancient fort of considerable dimension were found at a point near which the ridge ascends to a height of five thousand feet, some eight miles north-east of Chakdara. The place is locally known as Kamal Khan China. Due to the vertical height of the ridge along with several bluffs and crags at this point, the fort is not accessible from the east and the north east. However it can be easily approached from Shiva — the nearest village about three miles away to the west. There is no road and one has to take the route of a seasonal stream which has its source in the same place.

The fortification wall of massive construction, measuring about one thousand feet on the east side is still standing to a height of 10 to 12

feet at some places. A mule path linking Chakdara with Shamozaï is a much frequented route passing almost through the middle of this fort.

11. *Gumbat*:- Gumbat is situated in a picturesque side valley bisected by a deep seasonal stream (Khwar) descending from Deolai Peak, about one and a half mile to the south of Ziarat in Talash. As the local tradition goes, the site is called Gumbat (Gumbad: dome) because of a huge dome, probably part of some Hindu Temple which once stood majestically in the mouth of the valley from where it is approached from the side of Ziarat. Architectural parts of this temple in the form of carved amalaka and lotus patterns can still be seen in the walls of the modern houses.

The Gumbat valley is provided with strong natural fortification by steep hills, the effectiveness of which is augmented by human efforts. Thus Tatogai hill culminating in the high Deolai Peak forms an effective barrier to the south whereas the Sapruna and Dhob hills cover the two flanks towards east and west. On the north they come closer to each other leaving a narrow passage through which passes a seasonal stream and drains the whole valley. It is through this opening that the Gumbat valley is accessible.

Massive fortification walls with rectangular bastions and circular towers thrown across the whole width of this small opening still rise high up to 19 feet at places. Several of the walls have been pulled down by the farmers to turn the place into terraced fields. The extreme ends of Sapruna and Dhob hills also accommodate fortresses but smaller in size as compared to the Gumbat fort stretching throughout the length and breadth of the valley.

12. *Bash Qala*:- This fortress is nestled in the thick forest just near Dhola Peak only a few hundred yards to its north. Situated on a rocky ridge almost in the middle of the forest, it can be reached by a steep ascent over boulders and through thorny thickets in an eastward direction from Gumbat. It can easily be approached, however, from Dhob along a footpath which winds along the crest line of the ridges and is usually taken by wood-cutters or shepherds. It is noteworthy that Dhob Fort and Bash Qala are situated on the same spur — Dhob Fort being on the northern extremity and Bash Qala at the south wherefrom it shoots off from Deolai. This fortress — probably the best resort in case of emergency — can also be approached through Amlokdara.

The fortification wall to the side of Amlokdara still stands as high

as 10 feet at some points. However the amount of debris and fallen blocks of stones suggest a still greater height. Pottery collected on the surface is similar to that of Gumbat (Hindu Shahi period).

13. *Doda*:- Some eight miles to the south-west of Ziarat, the peak of Doda hill can be seen rising high over another top known as Gorodob to the south of Kamrani pass. There are the remnants of a fort stretching over a vast area on the western slopes of a ridge situated in a great loop formed by Panchkora which washes its foot. Approach is difficult from every direction. From Goro Kile a small mule path ascends gradually towards small pleasant looking plateau known as Bagh valley. It is a wide stretch of fairly level ground accommodating a small village and plenty of fields. After a march of less than three miles from Bagh in a south western direction along the bed of a seasonal stream which, after winding through several hills, drains into Panchkora, one reaches Doba situated at their meeting place. The fortification wall of considerable size made of undressed blocks of stone follows largely the contour of the ridge. From the top of this fort the whole of Talash valley, Kamrani and part of Bajaur is clearly open to view.

14. *Kat Kela*:- At the eastern extremity of the Talash valley the two lines of hills flanking it on the north and south come closer to each other leaving only a low-lying passage known as Katkela (corrected as Kat-Qala i.e. Fort of the pass). It demarcates the valley of Uchh from that of Talash. It is here that remains of an ancient fortress stand upon a rocky ridge to the south of the metalled road. The walls are of massive construction and have rectangular bastions coupled with circular towers. Much of it has fallen to the ground. The steep ridge which accommodates the fortress and other dwellings is flanked, to the north, by a deep torrent bed and upto a height of approximately 300 feet from the stream bed is covered with decayed debris fallen from the top.



(iii)

MATERIALS OF GANDHARA ART

We have seen, in the last chapter, the great wealth of the Buddhist art materials that are widely spread in the vicinity of Chakdara. It was impossible, or even not necessary to recover all the materials. What was

desirable was to probe into a limited number of stupas and monastic settlements and get at the unimpeachable evidence for placing the Gandhara art in its true chronological perspective. So far the chronology has been built on three different readings of history of this region:-

I. Foucher, Marshall and others worked on the basis of the early notion of the history of the foreign invaders and traced the origin and the development of the Gandhara art as a by-product of the Graeco-Roman influence. Starting from the legacy of the artistic spirit implanted by the Bactrian Greeks, the art reached its maturity during the hey-day of the Kushanas, declined when their imperial sway suffered at the hands of the Sassanians and finally ended with the havoc and destruction caused by the invasion of the Huns.

II. Wheeler, Rowland and others have modified the chronology built up by the first group of scholars and on the basis of the actual finds they have proposed to trace the origin of the Gandhara art as a result of the influence from the Roman world. Rowland alone has tried to build up a chronology of the development of the art on the basis of the different evolving trends in the contemporary Roman art.

III. Harald Ingholt (in *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, Introduction) has made four chronological groups of the sculptures starting from A.D. 144 ("from the accession of Kanishka") to A.D. 460. He concludes "During Group I Gandharan art is marked by Hellenistic influence from Parthian Mesopotamia. In Group II Sassanian influences come to fore, and in Group III a new wave of influences enters the country from Mathura. The fourth group, finally sees Sassanian influences reappear". This four-fold scheme of chronology is based on the idea of Ingholt that in the first period the Great Kushanas established over-seas link with Mesopotamia; in the second period the Sassanian overthrow of the Kushanas brought Iranian influence; in the third period the Kidar Kushanas were inclined towards India; and in the fourth period the Sassanian pressure again left its mark until the Huns spelt ruin and destruction.

It is not necessary for us to level criticism against or in favour of one or the other scheme of chronology. In the next chapter we have built up our own chronology on the basis of the excavation results and there it will be clear that some of the points of the scholars are re-enforced while others are contradicted. While the influences from the Western Classical art definitely reached Gandhara and they in fact led to the visualisation of a different standard from that of India, yet it will be wrong to say that

the art had no real foundation in the local socio-cultural life. Prof. Rowland and others like him may be right in tracing the different related motifs to the Roman school of art but they are just a few borrowed materials from outside. Similarly Ingholt's reconstruction has not been able to meet all the answers faced by the students of Gandhara art. Ingholt no doubt advanced a step further than other scholars in tracing the influencing factors to four different sources but the materials at his disposal were unrelated. They were spread out in the different museums and he had to make the best use of them on analytical principle.

Now the time has come when it is possible to fix the materials to a definite region and see how these localised art objects work out in a pattern of their own. The purpose of the present excavations is to present such materials in order to help build a true story of the development of the art. Before these materials are presented two factors need to be kept in mind.

1. From sixth century B.C. onwards the North West Frontier regions had been constantly under the pressure of foreign invaders. The common fashion in life and the general trends of culture were very much conditioned by the preference and choice of these people. It is they who set the standards in the current life.

2. Having recognised the contributing influences from the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushanas, it is at the same time necessary to remember the socio-religious forces that lay at the root of the development of the Gandhara art. These forces heavily relied on the great spiritual gift made by Buddhism to the cultural life of the regions. With the introduction of Buddhism many Indian elements penetrated into Gandhara. When it is remembered that the Buddhist monks were enjoined to move from place to place during the course of their missionary activities, it is easy to understand how motifs and influences from the schools of Mathura, Sanchi and Ajanta could reach Gandhara. It is this double trend — the choice of the foreign nobility and a local popular culture deeply influenced by the Buddhist monks — that resulted in the characterisation of the Gandhara art. In the production of the art we see a commingling of the two tendencies and the consequent creation of a new blend that is typically Gandharan. The foreigner's taste was attuned to the local environment and the Buddhist religion of morality had to widen its scope and vision in order to make itself acceptable to these people and in this transition it expressed itself in a new symbolism of the Gandhara art.

What were the main features of the art in Gandhara before the introduction of the Buddhist art, is difficult to say. We have a number of terracotta figurines (see Wheeler, *Charsada* pls. XX-XXV; Dani, Shaikh Khan Dheri Excavation in *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, pls XXIV-XXV) and specimens of other minor arts and crafts of everyday use. We may also point to the coin minting of the Bactrian Greek rulers. But of stone-cutter's art we have no example available from Gandhara. Marshall (*The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 23) has illustrated two sandstone figures from Taxila. They belong to a school entirely different from the main trends of Gandhara. Shall we take them to be the pre-Buddhist art of this region? He has also found a large number of toilet trays in Taxila (see Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III, pls, 144-45). He relegates them to the Scytho-Parthian period. We have had no materials of this type in our excavations. In fact the first phase of even the Buddhist art is not represented in the present excavations. In our dig at Shaikh Khan Dheri we could definitely present materials of the time of Kanishka (see *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, Pls. XVI-XVIII). In the present excavations we can at best speak of our first period as belonging to the entire range of the hundred years of the rule of the Kanishka group of rulers.

At Shaikh Khan Dheri, even in the first period, we found a seated figure of the Buddha (*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, Pl. XVII) — a type which remained in force through all the succeeding periods. Similarly the figure of Hariti (*ibid*, pl. XVI) is sitting on a high-backed chair which is made even today in this region. The facial type, the coiffeur, the ornaments and particularly the pose and the depiction of the children are all instructive to the modern observer. The curled-up hair over the head of the children recall the type of *Ushnisha* seen on the head of the Buddha, although the way some hair is falling on the shoulders, suggests western classical influence. But this hair style is preserved right up to the end. One can observe it in pl.11b from Andandheri and pl. 60b from Chatpat. In both these plates the unbearded disciple has a similar hair-do. The most instructive example from Shaikh Khan Dheri is the figure of Maitreya (*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, pl. XIX No. 2), in which the fall of the *dhoti* at the lower ends again shows a touch of the western classical art. Similarly the narrative style remained in the same fashion through all the periods. The Shaikh Khan Dheri examples may be seen on plate XVIII in *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II.

It is, however, necessary to realise that in Gandhara art certain types became fixed for certain persons and these types continued to be

followed through all the periods. Take for example, the figure of the Buddha. In our excavations we have not been able to get the standing or sitting Buddha, freely represented, from the first period in Chatpat or in Andandheri. However, we have got Buddha carved on pillars or inside a cave. Pl. 38a shows the seated Buddha in *Dhyani mudra* carved in high relief on a pillar. Pl. 38b has standing Buddha in *Abhaya mudra*, again engraved on a pillar. Another Dhyani Buddha is seated inside a cave (pl. 39 a). In all these figures the type is very well defined as far as the Gandhara style of robes, the hair-do, the half-closed eyes and other details are concerned. This type does not change in the succeeding periods. But there is a gradual modification in the details of the type. One can observe it in the facial features, in the hair-do, in the representation of the folds of the garment particularly the folds around the neck, and in the case of the seated figures the fall of the lower end of the upper garment over the folded legs, in the decoration of the seat, in the decoration of the halo and sometimes in varying the form of the eyes — long, round, almond-shaped, or askant, half-closed, three-fourth closed or fully open. These are the changing variations in the main type of the Gandharan Buddha. When and where these variations appear, have been shown in the detailed description. Within this broad type of the Gandharan Buddha it is the varying features that may be considered for the purpose of dating. On the other hand we have also got the Indian type of the Buddha in the first period at Shaikhan Dheri (*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II. Pl. XVIII, No. 4). The Indian type in which the upper garment leaves the right shoulder bare, is seen in the first period at Chatpat (Reg. No. 43 not illustrated here as the stone is decayed). This type was favoured particularly when the Buddha was depicted in preaching pose (see Pl. 34 c) but it will be too much to say that this type appeared in Gandhara later. There is no reason for such assumption as the Indian influences are noted even in the first phase of the Buddhist art in Gandhara. However, within this broad Indian type seen in Gandhara, it is possible to study the developments of the new features.

Now coming to the Bodhisattvas we find the study still more interesting. Here we have four main persons — Maitreya, Siddhartha, Vajrapani and Padmapani. Out of them Vajrapani, with only rare exception, puts on the western dress of short tunic. Both Maitreya (pl. 54 b) and Siddhartha (pl. 54 a) put on the Indian dhoti, the lower end of which ends in western classical pleats. The upper garment falls loosely in a curved sweep in front but they wear different ornaments. The chief distinguishing feature is the hair style and the object held in the left hand.

Maitreya generally has a water flask. In the first period, as noted at Shai-khan Dheri (pl. XIX, No. 2 and pl. XXI, No. 3 in *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II), the lower end of the garment makes a different kind of folds and the upper garment also shows a slight variation. The second example of Shai-khan Dheri has *Ushnisha* overhead. This is generally not found in the case of Maitreya but it is invariably seen in the case of Siddhartha. A new type of Padmapani (pl. 56 a) is seen in the third period at Chatpat. This type is met in the rock engravings hereafter. There is a unique scene (pl. 48 b) in which Maitreya occupies a central position. Around him are several noble persons in the act of listening. The carving is quite deep but this type of representation is not found elsewhere. We have not been able to discover an independent figure of Vajrapani. He is seen as a companion of the Buddha. But why he is shown in the western dress is difficult to say. His hair style is also different. In fact each one of the Bodhisattvas has his own typical hair style. A large number of noble persons (see pl. 11a) have turbaned heads. This is so in the case of Indra also. The turban has sometimes a hood behind and right in front a conical object is tied as a crest. (see Ingholt Op. Cit, figs. 313-319). We have found several representations of this type in the panel scenes. There they are noblemen. But in the Peshawar and Lahore museums such figures are holding wreath in their left hand and these have been generally taken as a Bodhisattva. In one example (see Ingholt, No. 326) from Peshawar this type of figure has a preaching Buddha at the crest of the turban. It is generally described as Avalokitesvara but this is against the known principle of the Buddhist canon.

The independent tall figures of the Buddha or Bodhisattva have not been found by us in the first period. They are known from the second period onwards. In the third period they were invariably required for installation in the niches. Leaving aside these figures, the sculptural art of Gandhara is primarily meant for decorative purposes. They were all made with the object of fixing at the stupas. It is for this reason that the panel representation is found largest in these places. In our excavations such panels number the greatest. These scenes relate to the life story of the Buddha from his conception to death. We found only one *Jataka*, viz Dipankara Jataka, in our excavations. Each scene is separated from the other by a pillar. The panel representation follows the same pattern from the beginning to the end. The difference has been noticed in the use of stones. In the early periods blue schist is invariably chosen while in the last period we get green phyllite. As regards depiction a few points are clearly noted. In the early period the engraving is very

deep and the figures in profile are common. The stones generally have single-tier representation. In course of time the engraving became shallower and shallower. In the third period two-tier representation became common. Frontality is deeply impressed on the manner of depiction.

The pillars that divide the scenes are mainly of two types — Persepolitan pillars and Corinthian pillars. The first type is round and tapering and sometimes has bulls back to back on the capital. There is one example from Chatpat having winged horses back to back (pl. 46a). The Corinthian pillars are either square or round. The capitals sometimes have a figure seated within leaves. The square pillars show three varieties. Those belonging to the first period have Dhyani-Buddha carved in high relief. He is seated on a half-blown lotus, the petals of which are distinctly shown. In the second period the Dhyani Buddha appears on the pillars but the lotus seat is not very distinct. In this period a new tendency appears when Dhyani Buddha completely disappears and a vertical cavity is marked on the pillar. This feature is the only practice in the third period.

In the panels secular scenes are invariably found (see pl. X a and b). In these scenes we have either musicians, dancers, lovers in a row, or drinking men and women. As these topics were most probably derived from the upper class of the society, they represent them in their familiar dress, mood and fashion. They are found in the different periods. Marshall places this type of panel scenes in the early period. The two examples that we found at Andandheri belong to its first period. But there is no reason that they should be so limited. Their position in the chronology must be determined in the same way as other panels.

In the stupas several brackets have been found. The front part of these brackets show different figures—lions, elephants, soldiers, Buddha seated in a cave, musicians or men in different poses. Chatpat has yielded the largest number. The early specimens show a remarkable study of the individual human action. Their primary motive is not to portray the individual in his naturalistic appearance but rather to depict the particular action of the man.

Several foreign motifs continued through all the periods. They include Atlants, Herakles, Cupids, garland-bearers, winged creatures with serpentine tails. Attempt has been made to distinguish the different periods of Atlants. The motif of garland-bearer gets variegated in course of

time. The one example illustrated from Chatpat is a fanciful development of the idea. From Andandheri triangular brackets have been found in great number. All of them show winged creatures.

From Andandheri several schist heads (see pl. 24) were recovered in the debris of the last period of the great stupa. These heads have fallen off from the body. As they are, they represent different facial types and they show the gradual adoption of the local features in the art.

The stucco figures are few and far between at Andandheri and Chatpat but at Bambolai they are found in great number. They are all products of moulds and appear to have been made to meet the growing need of the people.

Large terracotta heads have also been recovered at Bambolai. Such examples are not known in the earlier periods. It seems that in the later stage it was easier and cheaper to make stucco and terracotta figures to meet the greater demand of the common people. Although stucco figures are known even in the first period from Shaikhan Dheri, yet their use became wider in the later stages. It seems Marshall was right when he relegated the large stucco figures to a late school. The construction of the niches needed large sized figures.

One unique example (see Frontispiece) of a terracotta plaque showing seated Buddha has been recovered from Damkot. This type of plaque is not known from Gandhara. The whole manner of depicting the Buddha appears to be a work of the Gangetic valley although the Buddha is putting on the Gandhara style of the robe. And particularly important is the addition of the leogryphs on either side of the Buddha — a style of decoration seen in the mediaeval sculptures of the Ganges valley.

To sum up, the materials recovered from the present excavations, give us a wide variety for the purpose of study. They tell us of the motifs and types borrowed from outside and also of the taste and technical ability of the local artists. A detailed study carries us from one period to the other and shows the trend of the evolution. If a similar excavation is carried out of a stupa site in the main valley of Peshawar, it is believed that a complete sequence of Gandhara art can be easily built.

(iv)

CHRONOLOGY OF ART

1.

In this section attempt is made to summarise the internal evidence for building up the chronology in the evolution of the Gandhara Art. As the purpose has been to study only the materials available in our excavations, no external evidence will be brought in to support the new scheme. The idea is to fix the art materials of a region to that locality and to study how the process of evolution works out. The detailed description of the sculptures is given in the relevant sections. They relate to (i) Sculptures from Andandheri, (ii) Sculptures from Ramora (iii) Sculptures from Bambolai, (iv) Sculptures from Chatpat, and (v) Sculptures from Damkot.

We have the following types of materials used for the sculptures.

- a) Blue schist stone.
- b) Green phyllite stone
- c) Stucco and plaster
- d) Terracotta.

At Andandheri the sculptures have been separated into three periods and similarly at Chatpat three periods have been noted. But the periods of one place do not coincide with those of the other. In the last period at Andandheri a large number of sculptures in the greenish phyllite stone were recovered but at Chatpat only one piece was found in the last period. It seems very likely therefore that the last period at Chatpat began earlier than the last period at Andandheri. This conclusion is further re-enforced when a detailed comparison of sculptures is made. The most important is the decoration of the halo behind the head of the Buddha (Pl. 12 No. 5) from Andandheri. It is of the same type as the halo of the Buddha from Chatpat in Pl. 53 a No. 103. The Andandheri figure belongs to period II but the Chatpat one to period III at that site. In these examples the eyes are variant. But the wide open eyes of the Andandheri Buddha are seen in the figure of Maitreya (Pl. 55 b, No. 108) from the third period of Chatpat. Similarly the broad Ushnisha of the Andandheri Buddha is seen in the figure of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha (Pl. 54 a, No. 105) from the third period of Chatpat.

At Andandheri the round Persepolitan pillars predominate. But we also find Corinthian square and round pillars. The square pillars have a deep vertical cavity in the second period at Andandheri (see Pl. 18, No. 19) and in the third period at Chatpat (see Pl. 57 b No. 112). Similarly the round pillars are tapering and follow the same style (see Pl. 14 a No. 8 for the second period of Andandheri and Pl. 58 a and b, Nos. 113 and 114 for the third period of Chatpat). In the third period at Andandheri (see Pl. 25 b No. 40) the pillar became stumpy and broad.

The representation of the tree is also very significant. Both at Andandheri (pl. 14 b No. 9) and Chatpat pl. 46 b. No. 89 a peculiar bend at the stem of the tree is seen. This type of representation started in Chatpat from the second period while at Andandheri also from the second period.

On the other hand the architectural composition of the Ajanta type arch enclosing a standing human within is not very common at Chatpat. Only one example from the third period (pl. 56 b, No. 110) is known from that site. This type of arch is very popular at Ramora and at Andandheri it is known from the second period (see pl. 19 a, No. 18).

These comparisons leave no doubt that the third period of Chatpat corresponds with the second period of Andandheri. This correspondence also agrees with the architectural evolution. At Andandheri we find in the second period the construction of several votive stupas with off-set projections for the steps. This feature is seen in the third period at Chatpat.

However, it may be pointed out that while this correspondence is true regarding the commencement of the periods, the actual duration of the period may vary. It seems at Chatpat the duration of the third period was much longer than the second period of Andandheri. Partly it must have over-lapped with the third period of Andandheri. Only on this assumption we can explain the presence of a greenish phyllite Buddha at Chatpat. It is also pertinent to point out that at Chatpat we find the construction of niches in the last period obviously for the installation of the tall Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Such niches are not seen at Andandheri. But at Bambolai these niches are the main features. At Chatpat we found statues in blue schist stone while at Bambolai almost all the statues were made of stucco and terracotta. At Chatpat we obtained only one seated stucco Buddha (Pl. 34 a, No. 59) in a niche. This figure of the Buddha is of the same type as we get from Bambolai. Therefore it seems that at least some of the niches at Chatpat were built as late as those of Bambolai.

However, it must be remarked that at Bambolai alongwith the stucco heads we also obtained large-size heads in terracotta. At Chatpat we did not get any terracotta head. On the other hand our excavation at Bambolai yielded only one sculpture in blue schist stone (pl. 29 b, No. 50). That seems to be a survival from an earlier period. On the face of it the Bambolai period sculptures must be a later contemporary of Chatpat Period III.

At Ramora the stupa which we excavated produced sculptures only in greenish phyllite stone. This material was also used in some quantity in the last period at Andandheri but at Butkara in Swat the Italians have found all the sculptures of the last period in this stone. Those which are still in situ are all of green phyllite.

At Damkot, where an older monastery was found under-neath the Hindu Shahi fort, a beautiful terracotta plaque with seated Buddha (see Frontispiece) was found. This was the only terracotta plaque found in our excavations here. It is possible that the use of terracotta here was coterminous with its prevalence at Bambolai. On the basis of the above discussion the correlation comes out to be as under:—

Chatpat	Andandheri	Ramora	Bambolai	Damkot
—	—	—	—	IV b period of monas- tery and stupa
	Period III	Ramora last period	Bambolai last period	IV a
↑				
Period III	Period II	?	?	—
Period II	Period I	—	—	—
Period I	—	—		

In our excavations the earliest material, as far as Gandhara art is concerned, comes from Chatpat I and the latest material comes from Damkot. The dating of these two periods would provide the duration of the Buddhist sculptural activities in this region.

As Chatpat I was founded after making up a floor, in which some pottery was found, it is possible to give a probable date to the beginning of the monastic activity here. Later in the Section under Chatpat it will be shown that the potsherds belong to the Scytho-Parthian and early Kushana periods. As such the monastic construction here started slightly later than the foundation of the rule of the Great Kushanas. If it did not start in the time of Kanishka, it must have commenced by the time Huvishka came to power. In other words the earliest phase of the Buddhist sculptural activity in this zone cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the first century A.D. This means that so far we have not been able to find here the Gandhara art materials of the earlier periods, as has been noted by the other scholars in the main Peshawar valley and at Taxila.

Now, coming to the last period of the sculptural activity in this zone we have the evidence from Andandheri. There the third period did not commence (see under Section Andandheri) before the *Shaka* dynasty came into power, i.e. before the end of the fourth century A.D. But the evidence is not conclusive about the date when the site was finally given up. However, some circumstantial evidence needs to be emphasized.

At Andandheri the original monastery was reduced in the second period and more than half of the space was given to the erection of the votive stupas. The old monastic cells were closed and only a small number was reserved to the western side of the area of occupation. In the last period even this was reduced and we find only a single big living complex was left in the northern side of the old monastic area. This comparative reduction of the monastic cells in the succeeding periods seems to suggest that there was a definite decline in the economic resources of the monasteries and as a result the number of monks must have been lessened. Consequently the artistic activity declined. This must have been the time when, because of the reduced chances of foreign contacts, the local characters gained upperhand in the available examples of the Gandhara art. Quite naturally in the last period the facial features show more of the local types.

This same conclusion is reached when we pay a visit to the monastery at Butkara in Swat. There the original construction seems to consist of a tall stupa in the middle and monastic cells all round it in a rectangular plan. But as we find it today after the excavation the whole courtyard is full of votive stupas with hardly any space to move about. The monastic cells have also been reduced and only on one side we could vaguely see the remains of a few of them.

The same story is seen at Chatpat. There, of course, the monastery has not been excavated by us because most of that area has been destroyed by the stone slides from the top. But down below where the stupas were built, the area has been over-utilized by the later construction of the votive monuments.

At Damkot the monastery and the stupa were constructed in the fourth period and the excavator has dated it to the fourth century A.D. It means that the Buddhist religious constructions here started in the third period of Andandheri. The construction of the off-set projections for steps at the stupa agrees with the style of this period. The excavator has noted two sub-periods in the construction of these buildings. In the first sub-period we find the ashlar stone masonry of the stupa and in the second sub-period, after the stones decayed, plaster was applied to the surface of the walls. It is in this second sub-period that a big water reservoir was built in the monastic area. What was the duration of these two sub-periods is not definitely known. The excavator has brought forth two main evidences to date this period. The find of a terracotta plaque (see Frontispiece) containing seated Buddha in preaching pose. It is of an unusual style in Gandhara. The whole composition with a seated Buddha in the middle and leogryphs on his either side speak of the late Gupta Ganges Valley style. It is no doubt a product in a mould and if it was not an import from the Ganges valley, the mould appears to have come from that region. The second evidence is of a terracotta seal containing the Buddhist creed in the late Gupta Brahmi character (pl. 90 b, No. 178). Both of them clearly speak of the new tendencies that were affecting this region in the fifth century A.D. and also later. Both these objects were found inside the water reservoir. They must have fallen there or were thrown into it when the monastery was finally given up. How and when the occupation of the monastery came to an end, the evidence is not conclusive. The beginning of the fifth period is dated by a coin of Sri Vakka-deva, a king of the eighth century A.D. The excavator speaks of a gap between the end of the fourth period and the beginning of the fifth period, when debris accumulated on the top of the stupa as a result of wash-down from the top. How long was the gap, is difficult to say. The excavator talks vaguely of the destruction of the monastery by the White Huns without adducing the proper evidence for the actual devastation. It seems that the excavator was much influenced by the view of Sir John Marshall who spoke of the destruction of the monasteries in Taxila by the White Huns in the fifth century A.D. But he has himself not brought forward sufficient evidence to show that the White Huns spelt ruin and disaster at this monastery. On the other hand the location of the monastery and

the stupa at such a height where water was not available in this late period suggests that the monks probably fled from the lower plains for safety to this secluded place. It is only on such a supposition that we note here the late tendencies in the art style. In other words the evidence is not conclusive to say that the Buddhist monastery here was destroyed by the White Huns in the fifth century A.D. However it is clear that before the turn of the eighth century A.D. the Buddhist occupation must have ceased and as a result we find the accumulation of the debris over the stupa. The cause of the decline and the end of the Buddhist life here must be due to the successive dwindling of the Buddhist sources of revenue to maintain such a monastery in an unfertile and difficult place.

As a result of the above discussion the chronology of the Gandhara art in this region may be stated as follows:-

Period I 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

Period II 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.

Period III From the end of the 4th to 7th century A.D.

For this periodisation Chatpat III partly comes up to period III and Damkot IV to the latter phase of period III.

It is in this last period that the Indian influences reached here from the Gangetic valley. Consequently the Kharoshthi script was gradually replaced by the Gupta Brahmi alphabet. We have already noted a Buddhist seal in this script. The terracotta plaque depicting the Buddha from Damkot is also in the late style of the Gangetic valley.

Another important evidence is provided by the figure of Padmapani (Pl. 56 a, No. 109) from Chatpat. Although it is a product of the Gandhara school, the whole manner of its depiction and the details of the physical features and even the pose of sitting suggest influences from India. This type of seated Padmapani is not known from the first two periods in this region. But after this period the type became extremely common. For example it is seen engraved at the foot of Damkot on rocks. Similarly in Swat several specimens have been obtained and they are now preserved in the reserve collection of the Swat museum. As these materials from Swat have been cursorily published, they are briefly referred to below. I hope the Department of Archaeology of the Government of Pakistan would publish them soon as they are very important from the point of view of dating the last phase of the Gandhara art.

1. A figure of Padmapani¹ seated in *lalitasana* pose on a high seat with the left foot hanging down and the right folded on the seat. The right hand is raised to the shoulder while the left is resting on the thigh holding the long stalk of the lotus. A stupa is carved by the side of the seat. Below the seat are two worshippers. The upper part of the body of Padmapani tapers downward. He is putting on the bejewelled crown, necklace and ear-ornaments, and the tufts of hair fall on the shoulders. The carving is on high relief. The stone was brought from Kukarai in Swat. (See Tucci in *East and West*, Vol. 9, p. 311).
2. Another figure of Padmapani seated in the same style as above. The right hand in the present example is extended down to the knee with the palm to the front. The left hand is on the thigh holding the lotus stalk. He is putting on the usual ornaments. This also comes from Kukarai.
3. A damaged figure of Padmapani seated in the same pose, but the body is slightly tilted to the left. Below the seat on the right side is a standing figure. Other details are the same as above. It also comes from Kukarai.
4. A very beautiful figure of Padmapani seated in the same pose as above. The lotus seat is very well carved. The right hand is doubled with the fingers pointing upwards and the elbow resting on the thigh. The left hand on the thigh holds the usual lotus stalk. The elbow of this hand makes a sharp angle. He wears the usual ornaments. This comes from Dangram in Swat. (Tucci, p. 312).
5. A standing figure of Padmapani in *tribhanga* pose holding lotus stalk in the left hand which is extended down. The right hand is also extended down. Face is damaged. He is putting on the Indian dhoti and the usual ornaments. It comes from Salampur in Swat. (See Tucci, p. 313).
6. A standing figure of Padmapani, balanced equally on both the legs, with both the hands stretched down. The left hand holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Kukarai. (See Tucci, p. 310).
7. A standing figure of Padmapani with damaged face. The hip is bent to the left and therefore the body is mainly poised on the right leg. Both the hands are stretched down with the lotus stalk in the left hand. Behind the head is a halo. It comes from Salampur.

1. For detailed discussion see Section V.

8. A standing figure of Padmapani, the face being damaged. The body is poised on the right leg and the left is slightly bent. Both the hands are stretched down. The right one is in the *varadamudra* and the left holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Salampur.

9. A badly damaged figure of standing Padmapani. Its left half is completely broken. In the left hand he holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Salampur.

10. A small figure of standing Padmapani in *tribhanga* pose. The right hand is damaged and the left holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Mangalor in Swat.

11. A broken figure of seated Padmapani in the *lalitasana* pose. The right hand is damaged and the left holds the lotus stalk. It was found in a field at Guligram.

There are a few other sculptures of this period in the collection. These examples have been referred to here to show that the Gandhara art did not come to an end with the appearance of the White Huns. It continued and evolved new tendencies in the succeeding period just before the Hindu Shahis.



(v)

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE HINDU SHAHI PERIOD

The Hindu Shahis, the Turki Shahis, or the Brahman Shahis are the various designations by which the last of the Hindu dynasty in this region is known and which was overthrown by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in about A.D. 1000. The contemporary historians, like Utbi and Baihaqi, give a detailed description of the invasions and conquests of Sultan Mahmud. We learn from them a great deal about the wars and conquests and also about the military tactics. But of the immediate opponents of Sultan Mahmud we have only scrappy information. Alberuni alone speaks, in some length, of the Hindu Shahi kings but his information also appears to be indirect. The names that have come down to us from his account are not corroborated in the large number of the coins recovered in this region. It is possible that the names that appear on the coins are

only regal titles while Alberuni has given to us the proper names of the kings in an abbreviated form. In that case the identification of the two is a serious problem that has to be faced by the historians.

Leaving aside the question of the individual kings, we have had a few articles on the coins of these rulers. Barrett, Fischer and Van Lohuizen de Leeuw have also discussed a few sculptures of the Hindu deities, mainly Siva, Vishnu and Durga, preserved in the different museums. All of them have looked to the remains at Hund, about 15 miles north of Attock, on the Indus, which is generally identified with Udbhandapur, the capital city of the Hindu Shahi kings. Off and on coins and inscriptions have been found from this place. To the same period belong the fortified remains and the surviving temples at Balot and Malot in Dera Ismail Khan district. These have been described by Sir Aurel Stein in one of his *Memoirs*. Recently the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan explored and photographed a fort of this period, perched on a high hill near Udigram in Swat.

All these discoveries are few and far between and they have not yet been related to the archaeological history of the region. In fact the local archaeology has stopped at the arrival of the White Huns in the fifth century A.D., when Sir John Marshall thought the destruction of the main cities spelt disaster in the country. Thereafter no attempt has been made to build up the life history of the region that must have continued in the succeeding centuries. One has only to read the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who came here in early seventh century A.D., in order to learn the continuity of the political and socio-religious life at least to his time. His account bears a clear testimony to the fact that the Huns did not wipe out entirely Buddhism from this region. If it was so, what was the character of Buddhism in the seventh century A.D.? What was the form of the art at this time? Should we not think that the Gandhara art continued to be practised here at least to the time of Hiuen Tsang? The huge size of the statues, spoken of by him, corroborate the little evidence now forth-coming to show that the religious art of the Buddhists did not meet its death at this time. The chronology of art, built up by us in Chapter IV, brings down the date to seventh century A.D. During the early centuries of the Christian era we can now speak in clear terms of (a) the period of 1st-2nd centuries A.D., which covers roughly the duration of the Great Kushanas; (b) the period of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., which includes the reign periods of the Little Kushanas and the Later Kushanas and (c) the period of 5th-7th centuries A.D., which goes beyond the rule of the Huns at either end. What happened at the close of

History has not properly recorded the arrival of the new Turkish tribes into this area. Alberuni vaguely talks of the Turki Shahis but his description is confused and his sequence of succession sounds fanciful. He has not been able to distinguish between the Turki Shahis and the Kushana Shahis. In the later account of the Arab historians and geographers we get a clear distinction between the Turks and the Yetha (Hun) tribes in the Oxus valley but from Kabul eastward their account gives the name of only one or more "Ratbils".

Geographic place names are very suggestive. Sir Alexander Cunningham, before he identified the ruins with Taxila, recorded the name of the nearby settlement on a hillock as Shah Ji ki Dheri. The same name was applied to the Buddhist ruins near Peshawar, excavated by Dr. D.B. Spooner. At Chakdara the site, on which the modern British fort stands, is also known as Shah Dheri. Further up in the Dir hills we have place names like Shahi and Bin Shahi. This preservation of the old name is very significant and they all at once remind us of the designation Hindu Shahi or Turki Shahi.

It is strange that the settlement of this period is located on the hill tops. A study of the geographical locale brings up a different pattern of life at this time. In Peshawar city, except the name Shah Ji ki Dheri, we have not been able to trace any remains here. At Taxila the occupation of this period is far removed from the older city remains. On the west bank of the Indus two great fortified remains have been traced. One is at Hund and the other at Gala, right opposite Tarbela. If one stands on the top of the hill at Panchpir in between these two fortified places, it will be easier to understand why these two sites were selected for fortification. The main Peshawar valley, which consists of the lower reaches of the Kabul river, is surrounded by hills on all the sides except on the east, where they close round the opening made by the river Indus. The Gala fort lies at the northern tongue of the opening and the Hund fort at the southern one. Again the Gala fort stands on a ridge. Similarly there is a fort called Kafirkot right at the mouth of the Khyber Pass near Landikotal. The location of these forts clearly shows that the ruling class was trying to defend the country from outside invaders.

When we study the location of the forts at Balot and Malot in Dera Ismail Khan district, the same conclusion is reached. There the main passes from the west follow the lines of the Kurrum and the Gomal rivers. The Kurrum river falls into the Indus after skirting the northern part of the Shaikh Buddin hill. Right at the northern extremity of the hill the Malot fort was built. At the southern extremity of the hill the old

Gomal river went round and joined the Indus. On this side the Balot fort was constructed to stop the invaders coming from the west.

In the northern hills the defences are much more stronger and plentiful. The way in which these forts are now spread out suggests that the defenders were planning to stop raids from the main Peshawar valley. This was possible only when the Peshawar plains were already occupied by the forces of Sultan Mahmud but the northern hilly part still continued under the possession of the Hindu Shahis. It is for this reason that the entire Range of Malakand has been fortified at several places on its either side. Wherever there is a little saddle in the hill, which opened the possibility of crossing, a fort has been built. Some of the old walls have been incorporated into the modern walls of the fort such as at Malakand and Damkot while others stand isolated and desolate. When we pass by these ruined fortified places, we wonder at the remarkable solidity of the walls that still stand to great heights and present an appearance of habitation, in which numerous houses stand sombre and lonesome, where today no human being is seen. At a place called Debgarh, about seven miles west of Dargai, not far from Hariyankot, which is on way to the distant fort at Kot Agra right at the western edge of the Malakand hill, it was a dismal sight of a mile long houses ranging on the hill slopes, which greeted us with the blooming *Kachmal* flowers that must have blossomed year after year for centuries. But of human beings there was no trace. Where have they fled away and what for have they deserted their houses? On the northern side of the Malakand hill, the Swat river flows placidly. The same story of fortified habitation is repeated here on the ranges north and south of the river. Right at the extreme west stand the forts at Kamala on the north and right opposite at Hisar Baba on the south. At the extreme east the fort at Udigram dominates the whole Swat valley and gives a long view of the human life down below. The fort at Barikot bars the passage into the Karakar pass leading towards Buner. The Shahkot pass that allows a passage from Thana towards Sanghao and Katlang is protected by Kafirkot that overlooks it. But the most important is the crossing of the Swat river near Chakdara. About a mile south of the modern market town of Batkhela, there is a strongly built fort at Bata that guards the passage coming from over the Malakand pass. But still more important was the opening at Chakdara that led towards Dir, Bajaur, and northern areas. A defence of this passage was of utmost significance. It is for this purpose that the fort at Damkot was built. Further beyond a large number of forts have been traced and they have been described by Mr. Abdur Rahman in his section.

This pattern of hill fortification and hill settlement is absolutely new in this age. Earlier the Buddhist monasteries and stupas were seen occupying such hill tops or hill bends. But the actual human settlement was down below in the plains. We have not been able, for example, to locate a Kushana period fort on a hill top. A large number of Kushana city and village remains have been found all lying in the plains. In this period of the Hindu Shahis the retreat of at least the ruling class from the plains to the defended hill tops is absolutely a new feature that has now been brought up by the archaeological discoveries. It seems that either the whole method of warfare changed or the ruling junta chose to live in secluded forts away from the commonalty of the populace. The first alternative appears to be more likely as the period saw a series of raids, plunders and continued invasions until the old order came to an end and in the new set-up there was no necessity to maintain these hill forts. As a result all these fortified places now present a deserted look. However, these remains have opened for us a new chapter on the archaeology of the Hindu Shahis and their future study is bound to throw light on the hitherto-dark pages of the history of this country.

The first great contribution is seen in the military architecture of the time. The detailed description of the Damkot fort, given later by Mr. Abdur Rahman, will show how the contour of the hill has been taken advantage of in erecting the fortification wall, bastions and towers. In all these sites the builders have given due consideration to this feature. The second important point is the construction of a *damdama*, a central citadel-like structure of small size, wherefrom a concentrated fire could be launched at the enemies down below the fort. At Kamala it consists of a rectangular enclosure with round bastions at the corners. The entrance is sub-divided into smaller rooms. The special feature is the provision of the arrow-slits. Such holes are found in almost all the forts of this period. At Deogarh this structure consists of a rectangular building fronted by a solid square construction on the south. At all the angles there are round towers. Arrow-slits in the walls are provided. It seems that the solid square construction was to provide a platform for a group of soldiers. In fact most of the houses that stand at Deogarh give the appearance of similar fortified building. As has been pointed out by Mr. Abdur Rahman, the stone masonry is rather poor but all the same we are here face to face with a new type of military architecture.

As the impending danger for the ruling class was from the west, it is easy to understand why this class looked towards India for support. As a result we meet with more and more cultural influence reaching

from the Indian side. In the details of the minor arts and crafts, in the making up of the Hindu temples and the creation of the Hindu deities, the Indian features are writ large. Nevertheless the art, architecture and minor arts and crafts show a definite stamp of the Hindu Shahi rulers. A glimpse into this aspect is provided in the report on Damkot. Future excavations will throw more and more light on this subject.

SECTION—II

EXCAVATION AT ANDANDHERI

BY PROF. AHMAD HASAN DANI

Several stupas and monasteries have been dug in the past with the main purpose of recovering the Gandhara art materials and of reconstructing the main forms of the Buddhist architecture. By now these materials have accumulated in large number. Some monastic sites, like Takht-i-Bahi and Jamalgarhi, have also been exposed completely so that a good perspective of monastic establishments can be had. There was therefore no excuse in opening another monastic area in this old fashion. However, there was one question that still posed before the scholars of the world. Even after nearly hundred years of excavation the chronology of Gandhara art and architecture was far from being established. In order to open the way for coming round to answering this question from a new angle, an attempt was made at Andandheri to apply the stratigraphic method of excavation and recover the materials on the basis of sound stratigraphy. As the work was much vitiated by the earlier treasure hunters, we have tried to make the best use of the available evidence and present it to the scholars in the hope that the materials may prove to bring a new approach to the solution of the vexed problem of chronology.

INTRODUCTION:- In 1966 Mr. Rahatullah Jaral, the then Political Agent, Dir, offered to help us with financial assistance if we could change our programme of work and concentrate on the excavation of the Gandhara Art materials. Earlier in 1965 I had deputed Mr. Sardar Muhammad Khan and Mr. W.K. Bhattu to explore the sites in the Adinzai plain and Talash Valley. On their recommendation I examined Andandheri, which had for a century been robbed of its art treasures. Even on the day, when I went to see the site, a local contractor was busy in removing the sculptures for sale in the open market. I was fortunate enough to get a few of them, which could be directly related to a votive stupa and thus could be of immense importance for the purpose of dating. They are recorded here as Nos. 5, 6, 7, 16, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 etc. Though the site was to a great extent spoiled by the earlier diggers, I decided to save the remaining materials and make a beginning towards establishing a firm stratigraphy with regard to a stupa site. The absence of stratigraphic sequence has so far stood in the way of getting a true chronology for the evolution of the Gandhara Art. Fortunately Mr. Rahatullah agreed to my proposal of exca-

vating the site in a scientific manner. Accordingly the site was surveyed in 1966 and trenches laid in a grid fashion (See plan Fig. 2) across the high mound, which covered the main stupa and in the monastic area. The excavation was conducted under my direction first under the supervision of Mr. F.A. Durrani with assistance from Mr. Sardar Muhammad Khan and the students of the Department of Archaeology. Later Mr. Sardar Muhammad Khan alone continued the excavation alongwith the students. The registration of the antiquities was done by Mr. Fidaullah Sehrai while the sculptures were cleaned by Mr. Mohammad Kamal. Mr. Mohammad Sabir acted as a photographer and Mr. Mohammad Daud prepared the drawings.

LOCALE AND SITE:- Andandheri, the Round (*And*) Mound, a name by which the local people remember the site, stands in the heart of the Adinzai plain, about four miles north of Chakdara, one mile south of the important village of Uchh, and about two furlongs east of the main road that goes from Chakdara to Dir. As it is the important stupa ruins near Uchh, it has long been known as the Uchh stupa. This second name may help in identifying the many sculptures that have been sold away and may have found home in some of the museums in the Western countries. The mound stands in the open plain just by the side of a dried up *Khwar* on a *Kachcha* road that takes off from the main Chakdara-Dir road and goes towards Uchh. The importance of the site lay in being the main centre probably on an ancient route across the plain and it derived its main support from the neighbouring town on the north, the ruins of which are now called Badshah Dheri.

Before excavation the site stood up like a high prominence in the open plain with the towering stupa mound on the east and a low-lying flat area on the west, the western part being given to agriculture. It was almost a parallelogram, measuring 350' by 125', the eastern mound rising to a height of 29½ feet. The high mound was used in the last century as a watch-tower and a small picket was built over it for this purpose. It is learnt that a British Captain from the neighbouring fort at Chakdara occasionally visited the site in the last century and removed large-sized sculptures. It is difficult to say where they are kept now. Loose stones were fallen all over the area, particularly near the high mound, suggesting that these stones were left at the site after the removal of the sculptures. A few heads of smaller size were discovered by us while removing the stone debris. Of the western low-lying mound the local diggers had learnt that the sculptures lay on its eastern end and they had removed quite a lot. The western portion of this mound was intact.

METHOD OF EXCAVATION:- The entire site area was divided into a grid pattern of small squares, each measuring 25 feet square. The longer side was numbered A to N and the shorter side from O to 5. The high stupa mound fell in trenches I, J, K, L, M and N. Two teams of excavators started work — one at the high stupa mound and the other at the far end of the low-lying mound, presumed to be monastic ruins. At the stupa mound a long trench, ten feet wide, was laid in the middle of the northern side with a view to cut across a section right into the heart of the main stupa and show the different periods of reconstruction if there was any. But stone robbing had been so complete that the dressed facing of the stupa could not be found in this trench even though it was taken deep inside. However, it was discovered that the core of the stupa was a filling of river-rolled pebbles and big stones, rammed in with hard clay. Another attempt was made from the southern side by laying a similar trench in order to discover a workable point at the stupa. This trench bore fruit and we hit at the diaper facing wall of the later platform. It is across this trench that the main section (Fig. 3) has been drawn. With this discovery the whole stupa area was divided into four quadrants and opposite quadrants were taken up one by one, which enabled us to establish stratigraphic sequence in each sector (quadrant) of the main stupa. In the supposed monastic area the excavation was taken up in trench A O with the usual method and it was extended into other trenches. Deep digging was done in two places in trench F 3 across the southern wall and in trench H1 across the eastern boundary wall of the monastery. These deep diggings were carried to the virgin soil. It was clear that the occupation rested directly on an eroded plain full of river pebbles mixed with clay.

CHRONOLOGY:- The chronology of the site was established by stratification, by the discovery of coins and by architectural comparisons. Three main periods of construction were noted in the excavation, as is shown in the plan (Fig. 2). Of the earliest period the ruined walls of the oldest monastic settlement were discovered. The main stupa of this period was not found by us. Probably it is incorporated within the main high stupa, enlarged and reconstructed at a later period. On the top of these ruined monastic walls stood the votive stupas Nos. 1, 3, 5, 9 and 10, which have all off-set projections for the steps as we find one in the main stupa. There is great similarity in the method of construction, in the architectural features and in the fact that both of them either cut the walls of the earlier period or lie above them. This correlation is very well established.

The section (Fig. 3) across the main stupa gave further evidence for determining the stratigraphic sequence. In all four layers were found. Three of them were fallen debris. Layer (4) was the lowest debris layer, over the remains of which was built the later platform, faced with diaper masonry and the inside filling was done with compact clay, called here layer (3). We did not go down below layer (4) as it was considered unnecessary and particularly because we had reached the virgin soil in other trenches in the neighbourhood. This later platform stood against the main berm of the stupa drum, which was faced with ashlar stone masonry, and further coated with lime plaster, $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The association of this platform with this stupa drum was quite obvious. However, in the northwestern quadrant this platform was missing. (See below). This absence indicated that the platform must be a later addition. Accordingly we decided to remove the filling layer (3) and dig down the platform. After three and half feet an earlier paved platform was discovered. It ran all round the stupa and was associated with an earlier plinth of the stupa. We also noticed that in between this earlier plinth and the later stupa drum there was a thin filling of clay, about 1" thick all over. Obviously there were two periods of construction in the main stupa with the same plan, the only change being the addition of a later platform and further elaboration of the plinth moulding above this platform as is seen in the section. The period of constructing this later platform must be determined by the discovery of three coin hoards B, C and D. Obviously the platform was built before the burial of these hoards. Layer (2) was the debris layer after the stupa was left desolate and layer (1) was the recent accumulation made by the removal of sculptures and building stones within the last century.

In the north-west quadrant, as is shown in the plan (Fig. 2) the later platform is not continued. On the northern side, where a big umbrella stone had fallen down, the platform wall addition turns northward and is probably connected with the main boundary wall coming from the west. As this area fell outside our excavation plan, it was left out. However, it was clear that the presence of the fallen umbrella stone led to the change in the construction of the later platform. Obviously the fallen umbrella stone belonged to the earlier stupa. What about the votive stupas, Nos. 13 and 14. They lie on the same ground level as the fallen umbrella stone and the lower paved platform of the earlier stupa. But strangely enough only these two stupas are not in line with the main stupa, though other votive stupas are all in line with them. On the other hand they are in line with the earliest wall of the first period. For these two reasons it appears that they belong to the first period and are coeval

with the earliest main stupa, which is most probably incorporated in the main stupa and which we have not been able to excavate.

When we look at the plan of the monastery, it will be seen that the original monastery was much bigger in size, with the monastic cells excavated by us only on the southern side. Later in the second period it was reduced and limited only to its western half. The eastern portion was reserved for the votive stupas of two different varieties: (a) those which have off-set projections and (b) those which have no off-set projections but were obviously built later. Thus the votive stupas of (a) variety could be associated with the first enlargement of the main stupa but later than stupas Nos. 13 and 14. The votive stupas of (b) variety may be associated with the last reconstruction of the main stupa and the later platform. With this third period of reconstruction are to be associated a few walls built on the highest spot of the monastic area.

The three periods, I, II and III remain now to be dated absolutely. The earliest coins were those of Wima Kadphises and Soter Megas, found in the monastic area. It is reasonable therefore to assume that period I may be dated soon afterwards, most probably to the time of the Great Kushanas, i.e. end of the 1st century A.D. or beginning of the second century A.D. Period II is reasonably dated by the find of hoard A coins, which have been attributed to Kanishka III and Vasudeva II i.e. 3rd century A.D. Period III is dated by the hoards B, C and D to the time of the *Shaka* dynasty, i.e., end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century A.D. **BUILDING REMAINS:-** The building remains are described here in three parts: (a) the main stupa (b) the votive stupas, and (c) the monastic area.

From the main Chakdara-Dir road the high stupa (pl. 3 a) stands out in great prominence against the background of the hills. The square base of the stupa with some remains of its domical superstructure makes an elegant effect. From the top of this main stupa we can look around and have a general view of the plain surrounded by the hills. Looking west, immediately at the foot, we have a view of the votive stupas (pl. 2 b), bounded by a wall on the east and another wall on the west. Beyond the western wall lie the remains of the monastic cells of the last period just behind the two standing men. In pl. 2 a, on the left, can be seen two walls of the earliest monastic complex just by the side of the votive stupas. Beyond this monastic area spread out agricultural fields with a road marked by a line of trees, and far in the distance, where the hills

from the north and the west comes closer, a gap opens out and leaves a pass, called Katkela, beyond which lies Talash valley, not seen in the photograph.

(a) *THE MAIN STUPA*

The main stupa (Fig. 2) stands on a square plinth, measuring 120 feet each side with an off-set projection 33 feet long by 17 feet 4 inches wide for steps on the west. The projection is in two stages, the first stage is 13 feet long and 26 feet wide and the next stage is 20 feet long and 17 feet 4 inches wide. A later platform covered the projection of the first stage. This projection was originally faced with ashlar stones (pl. 4 b) just as the main stupa was, and the plinth moulding of the stupa was also carried around it. But the steps with their stone flagging (Pl. 4 a) have now totally disappeared, leaving behind a gradual slope with stones jutting here and there.

The steps actually lead to a higher platform, ten feet wide, which provided circumambulatory passage around the circular dome of the stupa. The stupa base, in the last two periods, was a perfect square rising to a height of 19 feet 6 inches from the first floor level. The first floor level had a paved floor (pl. 5 a.), 4 feet 6 inches wide all round the base, enabling the pilgrims to circumambulate the stupa on this ground level. Above the paved floor the stupa base wall was faced with ashlar stones and plastered with lime, $\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. At a height of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of the plinth half-round mouldings start, and then there is a gap. The second series of mouldings are seen above this gap. On the south-western side the facing ashlar stones are standing to the greatest height, ten feet high. A number of holes (pl. 4 b) for iron dowels to hold the sculptures are seen at the south-western corner. At the corners of the plinth schist pillars with brackets once strengthened the points and there were possibly more in between for fixing panels but they are all now gone. At a later period this whole plinth area was filled up with rammed earth to a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet with diaper stone facing for providing a circumambulatory passage on a higher level. In the south-western corner this platform was repaired twice by filling the whole corner with rammed earth and backed by diaper walls (Fig. 2). On the northern side this later platform stops just before the fallen umbrella stone and takes a northern turn. This change was made probably to keep open this corner, where stood two original votive stupas. The second circumambulatory passage is $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and the dome has a diameter of 56 feet. When complete, the stupas

must have given a monumental effect against the background of the hills.

(b) *THE VOTIVE STUPAS*

In all there are fourteen votive stupas. Two of them, Nos. 13 and 14, are removed from the others and are placed at the north-west corner of the main stupa, not in consonance with the usual alignment. These are the remains of the earliest votive stupas. Both of them are square in shape. Only three stone courses of the plinth (See pl. 3 b) are preserved. Both of them have a stone footing and are faced with ashlar stones. Stupa No. 13 is 11½ feet square and No. 14 is 8 feet square.

The remaining twelve votive stupas lie in an irregular enclosure and occupy the eastern part of the original monastic area, thus reducing the monastic space in the second period.

These stupas are of two varieties: (a) those which have off-set projection for the steps and (b) those which are just square without any projection. The second variety of the votive stupas is definitely later than those of variety (a), as their placement at the corners adjoining some of the off-set projections of the earlier stupas clearly suggests. This second variety had no sculptures affixed to the sides nor could we observe any arrangement for fixing the sculptures. There are seven votive stupas of this variety. Their measurements are given below:—

Stupa No. 2 is 8 feet square
 Stupa No. 4 is 8 feet square
 Stupa No. 6 is 4 feet 2 inches square
 Stupa No. 7 is 7½ feet square
 Stupa No. 8 is 6 feet 2 inches square
 Stupa No. 11 is 9 feet 8 inches square
 Stupa No. 12 is 13 feet 9 inches square

To the west of the stupa No. 12 lay an umbrella stone, as is marked in the plan.

There are five stupas of variety (a). They can be more or less dated by the discovery of the coin hoard No. (A). All these votive stupas were elaborately made with the square base and the step projection fitted with schist stone pillars and brackets, evenly leaving space for fixing sculptures. At the votive stupa No. 10 one stair-raiser type of sculpture was fixed to the step (pl. No. 5c). At the votive stupa No. 1 several sculptures were re-

moved by an earlier digger. Some of them were recovered by us. The measurements are given below:

Stupa No. 1 is 17 feet square with an off-set projection 9 feet 4 inches long and 4 feet 2 inches wide.

Stupa No. 3 is 10 feet 3 inches square with an off-set projection 6 feet long and 2 feet 11 inches wide.

Stupa No. 5 is 17 feet square with an off-set projection 9 feet 4 inches long and 4 feet 2 inches wide. Near its off-set an umbrella stone was found.

Stupa No. 9 is 20 feet 9 inches square with an off-set projection 9 feet 7 inches long and 5 feet 3 inches wide.

Stupa No. 10 is 21 feet 9 inches square with an off-set projection 9 feet 4 inches long and 5 feet wide.

COMMENTS

The stupas with off-set projections for the steps only on one side is not very common although this feature is known from various places in Gandhara. No attempt has been made to fix the chronology of its evolution. Sir John Marshall in his monumental work on *Taxila* mentions several of this variety found in the different localities at Taxila. We would take up five examples found at the site of Dharmarajika stupa, where we find constructions from the earliest period dating back to the time of Asoka right up to the destruction of the site possibly at the hands of the Huns, as Sir John Marshall believes. The Stupa No. P. 1, has two colossal figures of Buddha on its north face, dated by Marshall to 4th-5th century A.D. but the stupa is placed two centuries earlier (*Marshall* P. 259). The stupa No. M 6 is dated to second century A.D. though the coin deposits go right up to 4th century A.D. (*Marshall* P. 291). The stupa No. 7 was reconstructed in 4th-5th century A.D. (*Marshall*, P. 245). In court G there are two stupas, Nos. 1 and 4, which show later additions for the steps.

This analysis of this variety of the stupas at the Dharmarajika site suggests that this type was evolved later than the usual square or round varieties, sometimes with steps on four sides. This conclusion is fully confirmed by the evidence available from the site of Andan Dheri. According

to the evidence of the coins here they should be dated to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., soon after the time of the Great Kushanas.

(C) *THE MONASTIC AREA*

The earliest monastic area was a rectangle 192' by 97' with thick boundary walls on the north and west, measuring 3' 9" wide, built of diaper stone masonry. The boundary wall has been traced in a few places but the earliest monastic cells have all vanished except a few remnants on the southern line. This monastic area was reduced in the second period by almost half the size by a zigzag wall that separates the space from the votive stupas. In this period a buttress was added to its northwest corner. It is in the north-western side of the monastic area that our excavation was mainly concentrated. Here there was a covered verandah 29 feet long by 12 feet wide, with one pillar base (pl. 5d.) still preserved. On two sides there are rooms. The masonry is rather poor. At a later stage, probably in the third period, the pillar base was incorporated in a wall that closed the verandah and gave an additional room. In this period on the topmost part, behind the northern wall, a few more walls were erected probably to give shelter to a reduced number of monks.

COINS

Four hoards of copper coins and two odd copper coins were recovered in the excavation. The two odd coins were found in the lowest stratum in trench CO. The first hoard of coins (hitherto named as hoard A) was obtained from trench F 1 near the votive stupa No. 1. This hoard was found in association with this stupa and the date of this hoard is likely to fix the chronology of this votive stupa. The second hoard (hitherto named as hoard B) was found in a small pot on the top of the latest platform of the main stupa in its north-eastern quadrant in trench MO. Thus this hoard of coins will fix the latest date of the reconstruction of the main stupa. Two more hoards (hoards C and D) were found loose by the side of the latest platform, in trench MO, not far from hoard B. It is therefore clear that the hoards B, C and D were deposited at one and the same period and their age determination will go a long way in providing a definite absolute date for the last reconstruction at the site of Andan Dheri. Unfortunately all the coins are of copper and owing to wear and tear they have practically lost the legends that were once inscribed on them. The classification of the coins will depend mainly on typology. Leaving aside the two odd coins, all the remaining coins show two main types: (i) Standing King in the typical Kushana dress on the obverse and Siva standing in front of

the bull on the reverse, (ii) Standing King as in (i) on the obverse and goddess Ardokhsho seated with cornucopae in the left hand on the reverse. From the types it is clear that these coins belong to the late Kushana period after the time of Huvishka. It remains now to determine the kings represented by them. The difficulty is increased by the fact that no detailed study of the copper coins of this period has so far been made. However, help has been taken from the published literature available to me here¹. They have also been checked with the coins available in the Panjab Museum Cabinet at Lahore. First of all the selected coins are described below:

TWO ODD COINS

(1) Copper, round, obv: Burly figure of the Kushana emperor in the typical Kushana dress as given in the *Panjab Museum Catalogue* No. 36 with his left hand akimbo. Traces of legends in the margin. Rev:—Siva standing beside the bull. The legends are all obliterated (Not illustrated). The typology suggests that the coin belongs to Wima Kadphises.
(2) Copper, round. obv:—diademed bust of the king to right as in the coin type of Soter Megas, *Panjab Museum Catalogue* No. 100. Rev: King on horseback to right, holding *ankus* in the outstretched hand. Below the horse's mouth, monogram No. 9 of the Indo-Parthian series. Pl. 6, No. 1.

The typology suggests its attribution to Soter Megas ruler.

HOARD A

There are only twelve round coins of copper in this hoard. Only two of them have Siva and bull on the reverse. The rest show the goddess Ardokhsho seated with cornucopae in the left hand. The two coins (pl. 6 Nos. 2 and 8) of the first series have the bull almost half depicted with their legs cut off by the marginal end but Siva with his two hands and other symbols are seen fully on the coins. On the obverse of these coins the king's head and legs are both missing. The legends are all gone. The hands are rather thick. The dress has its outlines well-

1. (i) Eir Alexander Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians* reprinted at Varanasi, 1962.
- (ii) E. Herzfeld, *Kushana-Sasanian Coins, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 38, Calcutta, 1930.
- (iii) R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum* Oxford, 1914.
- (iv) A.D.H. Bivar, *The Kushana-Sasanian Coin Series*, in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, 1956, pp. 13-42.
- (v) Dr. B. Chattopadhyay — *The Age of the Kushanas*, Calcutta, 1967.

drawn with the lower end of the coat slightly curving. Exact comparison is difficult to give. In the absence of any legend it is hard to attribute to any particular king. But their similarity in fabric and design with the next series suggests that they belong either to Kanishka III or to Vasudeva II.

In the second series we may distinguish two varieties on the basis of the king's figure on the obverse. (a) Those which have got rather burly figure with thick hands (Nos. 4, 6, 7, 11 and 12), and (b) those which have rather thinner hands (Nos. 3, 5, 9, 10 and 13). In variety (a) the goddess Ardokhsho on the reverse, seated within beaded border, has its legs rather in a squarish form, while in the other variety the leg portion is smaller in breadth. One or two *Brahmi* letters may be read on the coins but the king's name is completely missing. The king's uniform appears to be of the same type as given by Cunningham in his plate No. 1 of the *Later Indo-Scythians*. Mainly on this similarity they are attributed to Vasudeva II.

HOARD B

This hoard of coins, found in a pot, numbered 96 in all. Thirteen (13) of them depicted the goddess Ardokhsho on the reverse and eighty three (83) have Siva and bull on the reverse. Only 12 coins have been illustrated. Five of them are of the Ardokhsho type. The first three (Pl. 7 Nos. 1, 2, 7,) have on the obverse the upper portion of the king's figure with his legs gone, the head has a broad crown. No legends survive. On the reverse the goddess Ardokhsho is seated. Portion of the beaded border is visible. In the other two coins (Pl. 7 Nos. 8, 9,) the king's head is missing but the lower portion is complete. The lower end of the coat is slightly curved. No legends are traceable. The head of the goddess is also missing. On one coin (No. 8) the leg portion is very thick. Seven coins of the other variety are illustrated here. Only two (Nos. 10 and 11) have the king's head preserved. In these two examples the lower end of the coat is somewhat straight. Traces of Kushana symbols are partly visible. The reverse design shows fully Siva and bull with the usual symbols. The figure of Siva in the Middle divides the bull almost in two halves with a deliberate break in the middle—a style which we do not find in the coins of the Great Kushanas but is seen only after the time of the Scytho-Sassanians. In the remaining five coins the king's head is missing. The lower end of the coat is deeply curved, almost angular (See No. 3). Below the left hand traces of the Kushana symbols can be seen. Only one coin (No. 4) has preserved the *Brahmi* legend. To the right of the rod there are two letters, which I doubtfully read as *Shaka* and below the incense burner I read *Pa*. On the reverse side three coins (Nos. 3, 4 and 5) show

Siva and bull fully. One coin (No. 4) has the beaded border. No. 6 shows the hind portion of the bull and No. 12 has the front portion with Siva standing in the middle. If the reading of the *Brahmi* legends is correct the coins may be attributed to the *Shaka* Dynasty, who ruled in the beginning of the 4th Century A.D.

HOARD C

This hoard contained 134 coins in all. Only one coin was of the Ardokhsho type. The remainder showed Siva and bull on the reverse in the late style, i.e. the figure of the standing Siva dividing the bull into two halves. The king's coat on the obverse has its lower end deeply curved. A further distinction can be made in eleven of these coins. Here the lower end of the coat is forked asunder as we see in the coin (Pl. 11 No. 3 Cunningham— *Later indo-Scythians*.) Twelve coins have been illustrated (Pl. No. 8). The first eleven of them show forked ends of the coat. Unfortunately no legends are traceable. If the comparison cited above holds good, they may be attributed to the *Shaka* dynasty. Three coins (Nos. 2, 3 & 10) have their obverse and reverse die designs arranged slightly at a variance. The remaining coin (No. 12) has a *Brahmi* legend, *Va* below the arm of the king. The second letter is doubtfully read as *Sa*. This coin does not show forked end of the coat. It probably belongs to Kanishka III with the name of *Vasu* (standing for Vasudeva) below the left arm. Thus this is a mixed hoard.

HOARD D

This hoard contained 197 coins in all. Of these only seven were of the Ardokhsho type. The remainder had Siva and bull on the reverse. Twelve coins are illustrated here (Pl. 9). On these coins a few letters of *Brahmi* are very clearly readable.

Variety (i) Five coins of the Ardokhsho type are given here. In these coins the goddess is clearly seen. Coin No. 3. shows her in all details within beaded border. On the obverse the king stands with the lower end of the coat almost straight. The left hand holds the spear with the sword across it. The *Brahmi* legend on the right reads *hu*, between the legs it reads *gho* and on the left there are traces of the letter *ga*. This coin appears to be of Kanishka III. But the other four in this series are very crude. They appear to be of a later dynasty.

Variety (ii) Seven coins of Siva and bull variety are illustrated. Two of them (Nos. 4 and 10) show nicely the figure of the king on the obverse

but no legends. In one case the sword crosses the trident rod. The lower end of the king's coat is almost straight. The reverse of these coins show Siva and bull within beaded border. These two coins could be of Vasudeva II). The remaining coins are very crude in workmanship. They show *Brahmi* letters below the left arm and right hand but no letters between the legs. No sword crosses the trident rod. On this typological variation they are attributed to the *Shaka* dynasty. Coin No. 4, has the letter *Khai* below the right hand and *mi* below the left arm. Coin No. 12 shows a *Svastika* below the left arm. The legends in the remaining coins are not readable. On the reverse of these coins standing *Siva* bisects the figure of the bull.

DATING THE COINS:— With the exception of the two odd coins, which can be comparatively easily attributed, the remainder are hard to specify to particular kings. The two types, found here, continued from the time of Vasudeva I onwards to later Kushanas, Little Kushanas, Kidara Kushanas and even Huns. Among the later Kushanas I include Kanishka III and Vasudeva II, and the Little Kushanas cover the *Shaka* dynasty. Dr. A.S. Altekar¹ points out, "The coins of the rulers of the *Shaka* family so closely resemble those of Kanishka III and Vasudeva II that we may safely presume that it immediately succeeded Vasudeva II." It is, however, possible to make typological differences in the coins.

(i) The coins of Vasudeva I do not have *Brahmi* letters at all. The names are written in Greek. The lower end of the king's coat is horizontal. The sword of the king either touches the rod of the trident or cuts across it. Siva on the reverse puts on the Indian *dhoti* and stands in front and the bull is behind.

(ii) The coins of Kanishka III and Vasudeva II have *Brahmi* letters besides the Greek legend. The *Brahmi* letters appear below the left arm of the king, between his feet and outside the right foot. Generally the lower end of the king's coat is curved and his sword touches the rod. The reverse on the copper coins is very stylised.

(iii) The coins of the *Shaka* dynasty have also *Brahmi* letters and hardly show the Greek legends on the margin. The *Brahmi* letters are outside the trident rod, below the left arm and outside the right foot. No *Brahmi* letters are found between the feet. The lower end of the king's coat is invariably curved or angular and in some cases it is forked. Even the sides are curved. The king's sword is generally missing.

1. *The Vakataka—Gupta Age*, P. 13.

These are the basic principles on which the coins found in these four hoards have been classified. It appears that there are no coins of the Great Kushanas in these hoards. What has been doubtfully attributed to Vasudeva, may really belong to the Later Kushana rulers. The hoards may be classified broadly into two groups.

Group (i), which includes hoard A, has mainly Ardokhsho variety. Only two are of Siva and bull variety.

Group (ii), which includes hoards B, C, D., has mainly Siva and bull variety. Only 21 coins were of Ardokhsho variety in a total of 427 coins.

Group (i) has some uniformity in its contents and appears to belong to one ruler. On the above principles they may be attributed either to Kanishka III or Vasudeva II, i.e., to the 3rd century A.D.

Group (ii) is a mixed collection. In two of them, hoards C and D, we have been able to sort out some coins of the Later Kushanas as distinguished from those of the Little Kushanas, but the date of burial must fall during the reign of this last dynasty. We can place them in the 4th century A.D. at the latest.

On the evidence of the coins the occupation of Andandheri site can not be placed earlier than the time of Wima Kadphises and the last reconstruction was done not later than the time of the Little Kushanas.

STONE SCULPTURES

As many as 534 pieces of stone sculptures were recovered by us during the course of the excavation at Andandheri. The dating of the sculptures has been a great problem in the Gandhara art. With the meticulous stratigraphic excavation conducted by us, it was hoped that the dating will become easier. But the answer is not so simple. There were two difficulties. The earlier sculpture-robbers had removed many of the beautiful sculptures and left behind little for us to make up the evidence. The destruction caused by them and the left-overs were in such a confusion that in many cases it was difficult to attribute them to one or the other layer. However, as the stratigraphy had clearly distinguished the votive stupas from the remains of the main stupa as well as from those that were buried along with the walls of the first period, it was fairly clear that the sculptures fall in three distinct chronological groups: (a) those buried with the walls of the first period (b) those associated with the votive stupas and (c) those which fell from the top of the main stupa or lay below the first layer to the north-west of the main stupa in the areas HO and H1. This broad classifica-

tion, though acceptable from the chronological point of view, is again vitiated by the fact that the sculptures survived from one period to the other. Some of them are likely to have been reused in the later period. It is therefore not possible to assert definitely that the many heads (Pl. 23) which fell from the top of the main stupa and hence belong to group (c), were actually made in the third period. Leaving aside this particular difficulty of overlap, it is possible to understand the evolution of the sculptural art from period to period. In any case it is well to describe them under these three groups and pave the way for the better analysis of the Gandhara art material so as to evolve a scheme of chronology from the local evidence.

In the excavation of a stupa conducted so far, stratigraphy has never been taken into consideration and the dating of the sculptures was left to stylistic comparison. Usually the sculptures were described subject-wise and their chronology was left to the skill of the art critic. In the following description this method has been given up. Though we do not want to sacrifice the subject-matter for bare chronology, we do feel that chronological classification on the basis of stratigraphy is the need of the hour. Even if we like to describe the subject-matter in detail, it would not be possible for us to give a complete picture of the Buddhist themes represented here because many of the sculptures had been removed before we undertook excavation. However, in order to satisfy old-type workers we list below the materials on the basis of the subject and later give complete description under the three chronological groups.

We begin with the architectural parts recovered in the excavation and describe the decorative motifs found on them. The architectural parts may be divided under the following heads: (a) Pillars, pillar bases and pillar capitals, (b) Triangles and brackets, (c) Pointed arch carved on the slabs, (d) Decorated motifs carved on slabs, (e) Stupa or its parts, (f) rectangular panels set between the pillars.

(a) *PILLARS, PILLAR BASES AND PILLAR CAPITALS*

Two types of pillars have been found in the excavation: (i) Square or round pillars with Corinthian capitals. When the square pillars are fixed at the corners, two of their sides are concealed within the walls and the other two sides generally depict human figures. Similarly the capitals show some figures seated within the acanthus leaves. Sometimes these pillars divide one scene from the other. In such cases only one face is visible. This face may have the figure of the Buddha or the Bodhisattva.

(ii) Very often one scene is separated from the other by a Persepolitan type of round pillar. The shaft of this pillar is tapering and its base consists of an upright vase. Its capital rests on double bell or inverted vase and sometimes the capital is topped over by two bulls back to back.

In all sixty pieces of the pillars were recovered. Five of them were of variety (ii) with bulls back to back on the capital. They bear register Nos. 43, 46, 396, 479 and 497. The Corinthian capitals, numbering eleven, have seated figures on the sides. No. 21 has *Bodhisattva*, Nos. 47 and 350 are seated figures holding some offering in hand, Nos. 27, 447 and 50 have seated figures with flower in right hand. Nos. 25 and 106 have seated devotees. Nos. 23, 49, 79 have seated ladies. No. 11 shows the base of a square pillar having seated Buddha on all the four sides in *abhaya* pose. The figures are flanked by a devotee. No 465 shows two lions on the capital. The remaining pieces are broken pillars, capitals or bases of pillars.

(b) TRIANGLES AND BRACKETS

Triangular stone slabs have been found in good number. They have a triangular frame and within the frame serpent-tailed winged figures, derived from Western classical art, are depicted. As many as 26 examples have been found. They are all found near the votive stupas of the second period, except Nos. 386 and 432. Obviously they were fixed on to them. The figures represented are winged dragon, Nos. 4 and 127; winged griffin, Nos. 151, 30 and 519; winged man (Ichthyocentaur), Nos. 6, 149, 231 and 397, winged ram Nos. 7 and 9; sea-bird or sea-monster, Nos. 8 and 386; marine bull, No. 10; winged horse, Nos. 13, 16 and 32, winged lion, No. 144 and winged cock, No. 432. The others are broken parts.

The brackets have either a single figure carved at the corner as in No. 14, or a double companion as in No. 35. Besides, we have also winged Atlant, No. 331 and No. 477.

(c) POINTED ARCH CARVED ON THE SLABS

A very common device in the sculptural representation is to have a pointed arch applied over a simple curved arch. Underneath the lower arch five dentil couplets decorate the sides. These arches curl up in a loop at the lower ends with a boss in the middle and from these loops hangs down a pine cone. Within the arch stands a figure, again within a tall arched frame carved on the stone. The pointed arch at once reminds us of a similar rock-cut arch in the Ajanta caves. Here it is found from the earliest level (pl. 11

a). This panel shows two devotees wearing Indian *dhoti* with a turban on the head. The turban has a fan-shaped crest behind a conical tenon. The arch continues in the second period, as shown in pl. 19 a. which depicts a nude Herakles within it. In the third period the inner architectural frame gets more elaborate. Pl. 26b shows two arches with its inner frame decorated with a series of rosettes. At Ramora several examples (pl. 27) have been found in greenish phyllite stone. In these examples the inner frame shows either a dead wavy line with conventional flowers or just a curved foliated branch of a tree. By the side of the arch there is invariably a Persepolitan pillar, tapering upward, resting on an upright vase and the capital having double bell, or double vase upside down, one on the top of the other. The detail of the figures within the arch is given below:

No. 68 measuring 11" by 4" from V.S. No. 3 has damaged figures.

No. 71 measuring 8½" x 4½" from V.S. No. 3 has two figures and two pillars.

No. 72, measuring 6" by 4½" from V.S. No. 3, has a princely figure with a turbaned head.

No. 73; measuring 5½" by 5" from V.S. No. 3, has a figure seated cross-legged with folded hands, probably a Bodhisattva.

No. 76, measuring 10" by 6" from V. S. No. 3, shows a single figure.

No. 84, measuring 3" by 4½" is a broken example from the same votive stupa No. 3.

No. 85, measuring 5½" by 5" from V.S. No. 3, has a devotee with folded hands.

No. 130, measuring 11" by 11", from V.S. No. 7, shows a standing Herakles in *tribhanga* pose, completely nude except for the tiger's skin on the left shoulder, with his right hand resting on the looped end of the arch. Face is damaged. Before the arch is a Persepolitan pillar. The carving shows the muscular limbs of the body (pl. 19 a.) It belongs to period II.

No. 139, measuring 8½" by 4½" from V.S. No. 9, shows a long-robed standing figure with a Persepolitan pillar in front.

No. 147, measuring 7" by 7½" from V.S. No. 10, has a lady with her legs lost.

No. 171, measuring 7" by 6" from KO (2), has a lady with an object in her bangled left hand.

No. 219 is a broken arch.

No. 268, measuring 3½" by 4½", from the neighbourhood of votive stupa 14, shows a man.

No. 328, measuring 11½" by 8", unstratified, shows a man wearing a long robe.

No. 341, measuring 7" by 3½", from the neighbourhood of votive stupa 14, shows a broken head.

No. 305 measuring 11" by 4", unstratified, shows two damaged men in two arches.

No. 409, measuring 12" by 6" from the neighbourhood of votive stupa 14, has a broken head.

No. 433, measuring 9" by 9" from south east quadrant of the main stupa, has a damaged standing man.

No. 444, measuring 23" by 11", from HO (2), shows three devotees within arches.

No. 446, measuring 11½" by 12", unstratified, shows a standing man, wearing a *dhoti*, left hand at the waist and right raised up holding an unidentified object.

No. 447, measuring 11" by 12", unstratified, shows a damaged standing man.

No. 482, measuring 4" by 5½", from EO (1), has a man within the arch.

No. 491, measuring 4.7" by 5.3", from Votive stupa No. 3, has a damaged standing man.

No. 495, measuring 4.3" by 4.5", unstratified, has a damaged child.

(d) DECORATED MOTIFS CARVED ON SLABS

As many as 71 pieces of stones decorated with flower and other designs have been recovered. Several varieties of floral decoration are found carved on the base of a pillar, on capitals and on stone slabs. The capitals generally show acanthus leaf but other varieties are seen in nos. 271, 347, 393 and 504. Pipal leaf is seen in Nos. 212 and 487. Acanthus is depicted in Nos. 118 and 200. Grape fruit leaf is noted in No. 163, Sun flowers, as in Nos. 105 and 135, and lotus in Nos. 196 and 324 are great favourites. We can also distinguish four-petalled flower in Nos. 472, 486 and 411; five-petalled flower in No. 518; six-petalled flower in Nos. 245, 249, 351, 352, 357, 473, 485, 488 and 510, and eight-petalled flower in 522.

(e) *STUPA OR ITS PARTS*

We did not recover any complete miniature stupa in the excavation but several umbrella stones with central hole for the handle were recovered. One big-size umbrella stone found in the north-west quadrant of the main stupa, as noted before, was the chief cause of changing the plan of the last-period platform that was added when the main stupa was finally rebuilt. Other umbrella stones number 213, 214, 359, 515 and 516. No. 434 is a damaged dome of a miniature stupa, holed at the top for the fixing of the rod for the umbrellas. Around the dome is a band of decoration consisting of a series of four-petalled flowers.

(f) *RECTANGULAR PANELS*

The panels are the main decorative elements round the square base of the stupas. Between the columns they are fixed and held together by a further series of stone bases and architrave. These panels may broadly be divided into two themes: (a) secular scenes depicting erotic subject, drinking scene, dancing or singing groups, soldiers or musicians; and (b) scenes depicting Buddhas, Bodhisattvas or stories related with them. The details of these panels are given in the chronological account below.

SCULPTURES IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Two varieties of stones have been used for making sculptures. In the first two periods bluish colour of slightly harder stone (schist) has been invariably used. This kind of stone is available locally. In the last period greenish colour of phyllite with a softer texture was introduced. Side by side with this greenish phyllite the older variety also continued. This greenish stone is also found locally.

Period I

1. Reg. No. 3, unstratified, 21" by 11". pl. 10. a. It is a rectangular panel showing six figures in a row — four soldiers and two ladies with musical instruments. The faces of all of them, except that of one soldier are chipped off. The left leg of one soldier is also broken. Two male soldiers, one on the left and the other on the right, are facing slightly to the front and are exactly in the same pose. They are putting on a tight fitting tunic with a short coat. Their left hand is at the hilt of the sword that is slung at the waist, the right hand is raised up to the shoulder as if in some dancing pose. Four other figures stand between them — two soldiers to the left



and two ladies to the right. The soldiers are putting on the same dress but are turned to left with their legs in rhythmic movements. The ladies, who are fully dressed with an upper and lower garment and have anklets, also show activity in their graceful posture of the body and legs. They are holding long stringed instruments in their left hand and twirling the strings with the right fingers. The balance and the steps are remarkably appealing. The panel is of the stair riser relief type and can be compared with similar examples found earlier. This panel has been placed in the first period as it is supposed to have been found at the same place where the following three have been recovered.

2. Reg. No. 534 from trench HO (3), 21" x 11" (Pl. 10. b.). This panel is exactly of the same size, same variety of stone and same make-up and thus supports the view that both the panels belong to the same period. The panel shows six figures in a row. Four of them are ladies and two are men, all in a romantic mood. The two men are in the act of wooing the women. One of them on the right side of the panel has succeeded in winning the amorous favour of a woman standing at the right end of the panel. The man is helping her to drink from a goblet while he is actually looking with sneer at the other woman by his right side. This woman shows surprise by putting one of his fingers in the mouth. The other man in the middle, who is also holding a goblet by his left hand, has not yet succeeded in winning the favour of the two women standing on the left side of the panel, though one of the women is just listening to his entreaties. The other woman, whose breasts are peeping out from the upper shawl, has turned her face away. Both the men are bearded, moustached, have short tunic upto the knees and a belt slung across their left shoulder and right side — a dress usually put on by Vajrapani in the Gandhara art. All the women are wearing bangles, ear-drops, have a stylish hair-do with broad knots over-head and bun at the back. Two of them in the middle have long robes covering from shoulder to ankles. The lady on the right has a short frock and a long loose robe underneath (*gharara*-type). The effect is noble and the theme extremely human. The figures can be compared with Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 27 No. 41.

3. Reg. No. 444, from trench HO (3) 23"x11" (pl. 11, a.) This panel is also of the same height as the earlier two but it is slightly longer. It appears to have been used in the same stupa. The panel shows three Persepolitan pillars separated one from the other by two standing human figures within Ajanta type arch. The pillars are typical. Only the left hand one has its capital and base broken. The Ajanta-type arch is also usual at this site.

The men are standing to the front in *tri-bhanga* pose, the left one bending to the right and the right one to the left. They are putting on Indian type of dhoti with an upper scarf falling loosely from their left shoulder to the right side — a dress common in the *Bodhisattva* figures. They have also a necklace and ear-pendants and on their head they have an elaborate turban, showing a fan-shaped hood behind a conical tenon fastened to the middle of the turban right over the forehead. The left-hand man has his two hands raised to the chest and joined together in a worshipful pose. The right hand man has an offering held in the two hands. Both of them are no doubt devotees.

4. Reg. No. 443 from trench HO (3), 18"x11½" (pl. 11. b.). This panel has an extra height as it is topped by a frieze of acanthus leaves, as is also known from other sculptures (see Ingholt — *Gandharan Art of Pakistan*, Nos. 15 and 119). The panel shows five standing figures in a row — three of them with short tunic in the middle have their hair cut but also have top knot. The two monks on the right have turned their face to right and hold a water flask in one hand but the other hand is pointing to right. The extreme right hand man is in Indian dress but the second monk on this side is putting on the short tunic. The man on his right is looking at him with his right hand up and his back facing almost to the front. The second man from right is looking at the monk at the extreme left. The water flask of this monk is defaced. His right hand is also up in the act of gesture. The execution is very fine and expression very suggestive.

NOTE

It is unfortunate that in this first period we get only these four panels and a few other broken examples. The execution of all these four pieces is extremely fine. The influence of the western classical art is evident but panel No. 3 clearly shows Indian influence. The design is a happy blend of the Ajanta pointed arch and Persepolitan pillar with human figures in typical Indian dress. This type of panels may be compared with those included by Sir John Marshall in his chapter 5 "Childhood of Gandhara Art" (*Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pp. 33 ff) but the art really belongs to the period termed by Sir John Marshall as that of "maturity".

PERIOD II

5. Reg. No. 1., unstratified but possibly from votive stupa No. 1., 23"x17½". pl. 12. Bluish schist stone. The slab depicts a seated Buddha in *abhaya* pose. The Buddha is seated in adamantine posture with feet rest-

ing on the lap but soles are not visible. They are concealed by the upper garment that covers both the shoulders and makes a twisted triangle at the chest. Below this point the folds curve in large and broad loops. The raised right hand pops up from within the fold and shows an auspicious mark on the palm. The left hand holds the hem of the garment. The head shows a stubby face, broad forehead, open eyes, drooping moustache, fleshy cheeks and retarded chin. The auspicious circle (*Urna*) is at the forehead. The hair is parted and combed sideways with a broad *ushnisha* overhead, tied by strings. Behind the head is a round halo, the margin is bordered by triangles, signifying flame. This type of halo can be compared with Nos. 225 and 301 in Ingholt, *Gandharan Art of Pakistan*. Marshall has it in his No. 142. The lateness of such figures has been noted by earlier writers. Here the stratigraphic evidence clearly places it in the second period.

6. Reg. No. 5, unstratified but possibly from the votive stupa No. 1, 8"x5½" (pl. 13 a.), Bluish schist stone. This is only the head of the Buddha, lower part is broken away. The head is surrounded by a plain halo with only a marginal incised line. Overhead is the arboreal canopy, the leaves of which hang down from the branches on either side of the halo. The canopy consists of probably *pipal* leaves. The facial type of the head is exactly the same as given in No. 5 above. It is most certainly the work of the same hand.

Many other broken heads were recovered in the excavation, as for example Reg. Nos. 2 a and 230. They are all of similar style and hence they have not been illustrated here.

7. Reg. No. 12, unstratified but possibly from votive stupa No. 1, 12"x 11". Bluish schist stone. (Pl. 13 b.). It is almost a rectangular slab of stone with figures carved on high relief. The figures are slightly damaged. In the middle sits the Buddha under an arboreal grove of *pipal* branches on a seat, now defaced. His hands are also chipped off. The mouth is also broken but the face keeps up the same style as seen in Nos. 5 and 6. The eyes are wide open, the *Ushnisha* broad, tied up with a (probably) ribbon. Three figures stand on his either side. While the main figure of the Buddha is seated to the front, two figures on either side are shown in profile. One on each side, which tops over has a halo behind the head and shown almost to the front. One of them has its face chipped off. A comparison with similar scenes (See Ingholt, *op. Cit*, Nos. 71-73), suggests that the subject represents God's entreatment of the Buddha to preach. On this identification the left-hand figure close to the Buddha may be taken for Brahma. He is bearded and his hair falls from a top knot loose behind. Indra is on the right with a high turban round the head.

8. Reg. No. 156, from votive stupa No. 10, 12"x5", (Pl. 14 a.), bluish schist stone. It is a broken panel representing two scenes, the right-hand one is broken. The scenes are separated by a round Corinthian pilaster within a rectangular frame. The left scene is in tact but the heads of the figures are broken off. In the middle is a tree. Immediately to the left of the tree stands Buddha in his usual covered attire, halo behind and his two hands holding the ends of some object. The other end is held by man in short tunic on the other side of the tree. Behind the Buddha stands Vajrapani in Indian *dhoti*. Both the Buddha and Vajrapani are tree-fourth to the front while the other two figures are shown in profile. The fourth man, whose hands are clasped, is in Indian *dhoti*.

9. Reg. No. 155, from votive stupa No. 19, 9"x5", (pl. 14 b.) bluish schist. The panel is broken on the top and the left side. The preserved portion shows three persons—two ladies at the two ends and one soldier standing beside a grape tree. The stem of the tree is gracefully twisted and the grape creeper clasps the stem in romantic curves with full-blown leaves symmetrically arranged. Both the ladies are robed in the flowing western dress of nobility. The left hand lady, whose upper part is broken holds a basket in left hand and was probably in the act of plucking the grape fruit. The right-hand lady is holding a drinking mug in her right hand while the man is probably looking at her. The figures are almost in frontal position.

10. Reg. No. 269, from the neighbourhood of votive stupa No. 14, layer (2), 9"x5", (pl. 15 a) bluish schist. This panel is of the same size as No. 9 and appears to be a continuation of the earlier scene though this was recovered at a distance. It is also a broken panel. The heads of one soldier and one lady are missing while the remaining two have damaged faces. Here one soldier alternates with a lady. They put on the same dress as in No. 9. The left-hand soldier has both of his hands at the sword hung by his left side while the lady immediately to his left is holding before him a basket (probably of fruits). The other soldier has his back to the front and holds a shield in his left hand and a long spear in his right hand. The lady by his right side is facing front with a long broken object in her left hand.

11. Reg. No. 448, from the vicinity of votive stupa No. 14, 8"x46", bluish schist, pl. 15 b. It is a broken panel but seems to have been of the same width as the earlier two. The panel depicts worship of the stupa. In the middle stands the stupa on a square base. The dome of the stupa has a chequer design in its lower half and is topped over by an umbrella. On its either side is a standing devotee with folded hands. They are facing almost to the front.

12. Reg. No. 298 from the neighbourhood of votive stupa No. 14, layer (2), 9"x8½", bluish schist, pl. 16 a. Buddha standing with his head, feet and hands broken. He is putting on a long robe covering both the shoulders with pleats falling in angular points in front. The folds of the drapery are not very deeply cut. But his left leg is slightly bent and right arm raised up, probably in the pose of reassurance. The type is rather conventional.

13. Reg. No. 184, from votive stupa No. 1, 5"x3.4", bluish schist pl. 16 b. Female head broken away from the body. The facial expression is more Central Asian than local. She has a broad full-blooded face with long eyes but nose, is broken. The front hair drops in short curls over the forehead while overhead it is tied in rows of plaits. Ear pendant hangs from the ears. The head is probably of a nobility.

14. Reg. No. 128, from votive stupa No. 7, measurements 6"x5½", bluish schist, pl. 17 a. The slab depicts worship of *tri-ratna* (Three Jewels) by three monks. The remaining portion of the slab is broken. The *tri-ratna* consists of three spoked wheels mounted on three-pronged jewel, each prong having volutes on either side. The jewel is further carried on a wheeled seat resting on a square base. Out of the three shaven-headed monks one is kneeling. All of them have open eyes, clasped hands and a long robe leaving the right shoulder bare. They are all looking at the jewel but their bodies are slightly frontal.

15. Reg. No. 15, unstratified but probably found from votive stupa No. 1, measurements 14"x9½", bluish schist, pl. 17 b. The panel is partly broken. It probably represents the last phase in the scene of *Mara's* attack on the Buddha, when he felt dejected owing to failure in his attempt to woo the Buddha. The main figure of the Buddha, clearly recognisable by his *ushni-sha*, halo and the dress covering both the shoulders, is seated in adamant pose with his right hand probably in *abhaya-mudra* and the left holding one end of the garment. To his right and left, in the upper part, a man with a long weapon is seated in a disdainful challenging mood. A third person on the left is kneeling down with his dejected head resting on his right palm. A fourth man is standing with clasped hands.

16. Reg. No. 197, from trench J4 layer (2), measurements 5"x4", pl. 18a. It is a broken slab, showing only two persons with their heads missing. Both of them turned to their right. They are both putting on the Indian dhoti, with their upper part bare. One of them has his left hand on the hilt of a sword that hangs down from his side and the other hand is raised to the shoulder. The second man has his left hand at the waist and right hand is holding something at the shoulder level. It is probably a part of *Mara's* attack.

17. Reg. No. 319, unstratified, 10"x4½", pl. 18b. A single human figure broken away from a panel. Head, one hand and feet are missing. He holds an indistinct object probably an offering in his left hand, raised to the level of the chest. He is putting on a *dhوتي* while a tight-fitting jacket covers the body. A long falling *chadar* drops from the left shoulder to the right side. The lower end of the *dhوتي* shows classical pleats.

18. Reg. No. 130, from votive stupa No.7, measurements 11"x11", bluish schist, pl. 19a. It is a broken panel showing, by the side of a Persepolitan column, an Ajanta-type arch ending in curls and a pine cone hanging from either end. Within the arch stands a naked figure of Herakles with a lion's skin, loosely hung over the left side. His right hand is resting at one end of the arch. The muscular body is very well depicted and it boldly comes out of the long arch behind him. The face is damaged.

19. Reg. No. 533, fixed at the step of the votive stupa No. 10, measurements 28.6"x6", pl. 18c. It is a stair-raiser type of slab showing three square Corinthian pilasters, each within a rectangular frame and separating four tritons, one from the other. The tritons have double ending snake tail legs and are in the act of dancing or playing music. The right-hand one has his one hand raised up. The second from right is playing on tambourine. The third is using flutes and the fourth is beating time with his two hands. They are all looking at different directions.

20. Reg. 157 from votive stupa No. 10, measurements 15"x8", pl. 19 b. The slab, partly broken, shows a single winged triton seated on his snake tailed legs. The body is naked, except for the acanthus leaf that covers the private part. His left hand is at the waist and right hand is across the body in front. The face is damaged.

21. Reg. No. 508 from trench B1 layer (2), measurements 13"x9", bluish schist, pl. 20a. This is one of the many examples of decorated motifs found here. On this slab there are three types of designs in three rows. One row depicts the chequer motif. The middle one has a scroll of grape branch with grape leaf within circles. The third shows a series of lotus flowers within squares. The carving is not very deep. The designs are in low relief.

22. Reg. No. 83 from votive stupa No. 3, measurements 8"x5", pl. 20b. It is a broken panel of bluish schist depicting a scene in the life of Prince Siddhartha. On the left is a round Corinthian pilaster within a frame. On the right halfstands the Prince, facing front, in an Indian fress, with his left

hand at the waist and his right hand lifting an elephant, represented by part of the body, forelegs and dangling trunk from the head. The Prince is in a victorious mood. His face is broken. The story relates to the challenge of his cousin Devadatta for winning the bride. (Compare Ingholt, *Op. Cit.* No. 30).

23. Reg. No. 18 from the votive stupa No. 1, measurements $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4''$, bluish schist, not illustrated. It is a broken panel depicting Maya's dream. The queen Maya, the Buddha's mother, is lying straight on bed, her head resting on one hand and another overhead. By her side stands an attendant. Other portion is missing.

24. Reg. No. 24, from votive stupa No. 1. measurements $12'' \times 5''$, bluish schist. Not illustrated. The panel represents the well-known *jataka* story of the Six-tusked Elephant. Two parts of the story are preserved. On the left stands a lady fully robed in the act of disdainful surprise indicated by her left hand's finger at the lips. A Corinthian pillar separates the other part, where man in Indian *dhoti* is ready to extract the tusk of the elephant who kneels down gracefully.

25. Reg. No. 132, from votive stupa No. 9, measurements $6'' \times 3''$, bluish schist pl. 21 a. It is the head of a nobleman with nose and mouth slightly broken, a bejewelled turban having a conical tenon in front and a fan-shaped crest behind. The eyes are wide open and almond-shaped.

26. Reg. No. 149 from votive stupa No. 10, measurements $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ pl. 21 b. Within a triangular panel stands the so-called Ichthyocentaur with hands clasped in worshipful pose. He has a shaven round human face with open eyes, up-raised wings, horse's legs and the tail of a demon.

27. Reg. No. 10, unstratified but probably from votive stupa No. 1, measurements $11'' \times 6''$ bluish schist. pl. 22 a. Within a triangular panel a marine bull is represented, having up-raised wings, and the coiled tail of a demon.

28. Reg. No. 13, unstratified but probably from votive stupa No. 1, measurements $11'' \times 8''$, bluish schist, pl. 22 b. within a rectangular panel we have a marine horse with upraised wings and the tail of a demon.

29. Reg. No. 4, unstratified but probably from votive stupa No. 1, measurements $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$, bluish schist, pl. 22 c. Within a triangular panel a winged monster is depicted with crocodile's mouth, up-raised wings, horse's legs and the coiled tail of a demon.

30. Reg. No. 9, unstratified but probably from votive stupa No. 1, measurements 11"x6", bluish schist, pl. 23 a. Within a triangular panel another monster with the head of a ram, upraised wings, horse's legs and the coiled tail of a demon, is shown.

31. Reg. No. 8, unstratified but probably from votive stupa No. 1, measurements 11"x6", bluish schist pl. 23 b. Within a triangular panel another monster with the head of a duck, upraised wings, horse's legs and the coiled tail of a demon is depicted.

32. Reg. No. 23 from votive stupa No. 1, measurements 15"x12" bluish schist, pl. 23 c. It is a Corinthian capital showing a man seated within acanthus leaves. His face is turned to the left. One hand is coming out of the covered robe and touching a dish held by another hand. The other side of the capital also shows a lady but much damaged.

NOTE

The sculptures described above show a definite decline in art. Older themes and styles, no doubt, continued but the handling of the materials is not superb. The execution on stone is shallow. Frontality is the dominant character. Figures in profile are rare. There is an over-emphasis on decorative elements. Final complexions show greater variety. Portrayal of the drapery folds becomes conventional. The subject remains completely permeated with Buddhist themes though western classical motifs and designs are seen incorporated here and there.

PERIOD III.

First of all we describe the following heads that were recovered in the last period of the main stupa. It is, however, possible that these heads were re-used in this last period. If so, they actually belong to period II. They are all made of bluish schist stone.

33. Reg. No. 464 from the south-west quadrant of the main stupa, 3¾"x 2½". pl. 24 c. The head is comparable with that of the Buddha seen in No. 6 above. But the present head is that of a nobleman who has drooping moustache, half-closed eyes, nose broken, ear-pendants (not clear in the photograph), a high turban with a conical tenon (now broken) in front, the height of the turban being reduced by a flat top. There is no difference between this and the heads of the second period.

34. Reg. No. 527 from the north-west quadrant of the main stupa, mea-

measurements $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ pl. 24 a. The head shows a face, which is slightly twisted to the right. It is of a nobleman having moustache, ear-pendants, almond-shaped open eyes, bejewelled turban with the usual tenon and fan-shaped crest.

35. Reg. No. 461 from the south-west quadrant of the main stupa, measurements $4'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$, pl. 24 b. This is a small head of the same type as the earlier example with the difference that the face is slightly twisted to the left. The head is attached to a slab which is decorated with a number of seven-petalled sunflowers.

36. Reg. No. 241 from the north-west quadrant of the main stupa, measurements $3'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$, pl. 24 d. It is a broken part of a bracket retaining only the head of a lady, who has full-blooded face, tuft of hair over the forehead and a classical wreath tied over the head. She wears ear-pendants.

37. Reg. No. 462 from the south-west quadrant of the main stupa, measurements $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ pl. 24 e. It is also a broken part of a bracket showing only the head with moustached face, wide open eyes and curly hair.

The following sculptures are all made in greenish phyllite a kind of stone which is very soft and hence easy to work but apt to be broken. This kind of stone is found locally but its use was reserved to this last period.

38. Reg. No. 449 from the vicinity of stupa No. 14, layer (1), measurements $15'' \times 5''$ pl. 25 a. It is a long slab showing two scenes separated by a square Corinthian pilaster within a rectangular frame. In both the scenes Buddha is seated in the middle in the pose of meditation (the left-hand Buddha is partly broken.). His both shoulders are covered but the folds of the drapery are shown by scratches, one end of which falls in semi-circular loop below the hands and above the seat. The eyes are half closed. Around the halo leaves overhang. On either side of the Buddha is a standing figure with hands clasped in worshipful pose. The two standing figures preserved are putting on the Indian *dhoti* and have the usual bejewelled turban.

39. Reg. No. 454 from the same place as No. 37, measurements $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$ of the same greenish schist stone, not illustrated. This shows seated Buddha, with his head missing, in the pose of reassurance, the left hand holding the hem of the upper garment. The folds of the drapery are incised in the same fashion and one end falls in semi-circular loop above the seat.

40. Reg. No. 455 from the same place as the above two, measurements $18'' \times 5''$ of the same greenish phyllite stone pl. 25 b. It is a continuation of the panel No. 38 and repeats two more similar seated Buddhas with devotees separated by Corinthian pilasters.

41. Reg. No. 297 from the same place as the above three, measurements 8"x5" of the same greenish phyllite stone. This is also a repetition of the same Dhyanī Buddha and devotees.

42. Reg. No. 453 from the same place as the above four, measurements 8½"x5" of the same greenish phyllite stone, not illustrated. Here the only difference is that the right hand of the Buddha is raised in the pose of reassurance while the left is resting on the lap. The two devotees are in the Indian dress. A third devotee stands to the left of the Corinthian pilaster.

43. Reg. No. 183 from trench HO layer (1), measurements 4.5"x3.4" of greenish phyllite stone. pl. 26 a. It shows an Ajanta type arch with curled up ends from which hangs down a pine cone (now broken). Within this high arch there is a long double line of arch with a series of dots. In the middle stands a devotee (with his face broken) in Indian *dhoti* and garland held in the two hands to front.

APPENDIX A

RAMORA SCULPTURES

The following sculptures were found while clearing the debris of a robbed stupa at this site. All these sculptures are in greenish phyllite stone and hence relate to the materials of the last period at Andandheri where a limited number of sculptures in this material were found. The reason for the change of material seems to be the fact that this greenish stone is easier to work. If these sculptures are any indication to the time of the erection of this stupa, it must fall in the last period of Andandheri.

Pl. 27 a. (No. 45). A small rectangular block of stone showing in high relief a Persepolitan column on the right and a lay-worshipper standing within an arch on the left. The column stands on a base formed of a squat carinated jar, and is itself round and tapering. There are three tiers of the abacus underneath the capital. The lowest is an inverted bell, the middle one is a bulging pot and the uppermost a wide-mouthed vase. The capital, instead of having bulls back to back, has triple wavy lines surmounted by a top flat. The lay-worshipper appears to be nude, turned to his right, having typically fat limbs, and holds a bowl in both the hands in front. The arch, which is too crude, ends in volutes having a bunch of pine cone. But within this arch is a poorly represented doorway consisting of a conventional leafy branch. The carving is very shallow.

Pl. 27 b. (No. 46). Similar stone plaque as above No. 45, showing

the Persepolitan column on the right and a man standing within an arch on the left. The column is exactly the same except for the new design of a single wavy line at the capital. The arch is also of the same type but the doorway has a very crude copy of a vine creeper. The man within the arch is standing to front in *tribhanga* pose with his left hand akimbo and the right raised up in the *abhaya* pose. He has wide open eyes, is putting on the Indian *dhoti* and an upper scarf that leaves the right shoulder bare, has ornaments like the necklace and ear-pendant and an elaborate turban of a nobleman. It may be a Bodhisattva.

Pl. 28 a. (No. 47). Stone plaque depicting Maya's dream. On the left side is a square column within a rectangle. The middle of its shaft has a long but narrow panel and the capital shows acanthus leaves with Ionian volutes shooting sideways. The queen Maya is asleep sideways on a sheet-covered cot with a stepping stool underneath. The queen, whose head is resting on her left arm, is wearing ornaments. Her *Sari* leaves the upper part and also a part of the hip bare. She is guarded on either side by two armed *Yavanis* (Greek ladies) while two other ladies look on. The small elephant, which is broken, has left a trace with a trend to enter the queen's womb, suggesting her conception.

Pl. 28 b. (No. 48): Stone plaque depicting the scene of "Gods entreat the Buddha." On the left side of the scene is a damaged stone column. The Buddha is seated under an arboreal tree in a meditation pose with both his shoulders covered by the upper garment. The folds of the garment are very poorly indicated. On the left is the bearded Brahma seated on his folded right leg. His hands are folded. On the right is the seated Indra having the usual nobleman's turban. His hands are broken. Above on right and left two persons are scattering flowers. It is important to note for chronology that the Buddha has his *Ushnisha* of a large size, his eyes wide open and is also moustached.

Pl. 29 a. (No. 49). Broken stone plaque showing a couple seated on an armless chair and an attendant standing behind. The feet of the seated persons are resting on two separate stools. Both of them are putting on ornaments. But the man has an Indian *dhoti* with a scarf slung across the body as the Bodhisattvas do. His head and right hand are broken. The lady has her hair styled in top coils above the head, her right hand is in the *abhaya* pose and left resting on the lap. She is dressed in the Indian *Sari* and an upper garment that covers the entire body. The folds of the garment are very poorly scratched on the stone.

APPENDIX B BAMBOLAI

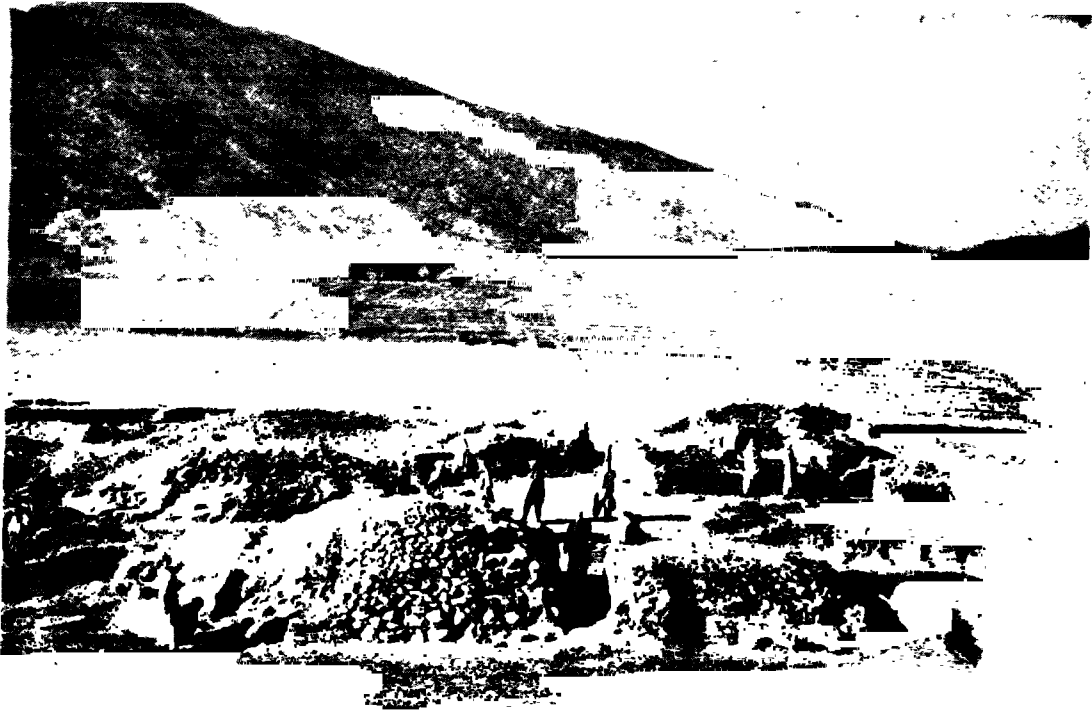
The remains at this site have been described above (see p. 10). Here only one stone sculpture was found in the debris of the main stupa and several stucco heads from the niches. A few examples of terracotta heads were also recovered. As the lower portion of the body was completely decayed owing to water action it was not clear whether the whole of the seated Buddha was of terracotta or not. However, it is pertinent to note that terracotta figures, obviously made in mould before firing, in such a large size is rare indeed. I have seen only very few examples in the Gandhara art. From the stylistic point these heads compare very well with the stucco head found in situ at the Chatpat site (see below under the *Excavation of Chatpat*). If this comparison is any indication, these heads belong to the last period of the occupation of Chatpat. But the stone sculpture appears to have been reused from an older building. The high excellence achieved in the stone carving in comparison to those described under Ramora as well as the blue schist stone used here suggest an earlier date.

Pl. 29 b. (No. 50). A blue schist stone slab depicting the scene of *Dipankara Jataka* in between two square columns. Here the Buddha is standing at the right side in abhaya pose with both his shoulders covered by the upper garment, which exhibits the folds by double parallel lines. The large halo of the Buddha has five lotus flowers which were earlier thrown by Sumati who is shown in three different poses. In the middle he is standing facing the Buddha with a purse in one hand and the other hand (broken) in the act of throwing the flowers. Down below he is prostrate before the Buddha with his hair spread out. On them Buddha has placed his foot. Above he is in a worshipful pose and kneeling. In between the Buddha and the figures of Sumati is Vajrapani holding the thunderbolt and is in typical western head-gear. The young girl, with five lotuses in the right hand and a water pitcher in the other, stands barefooted to the left. Above her is a worshipper.

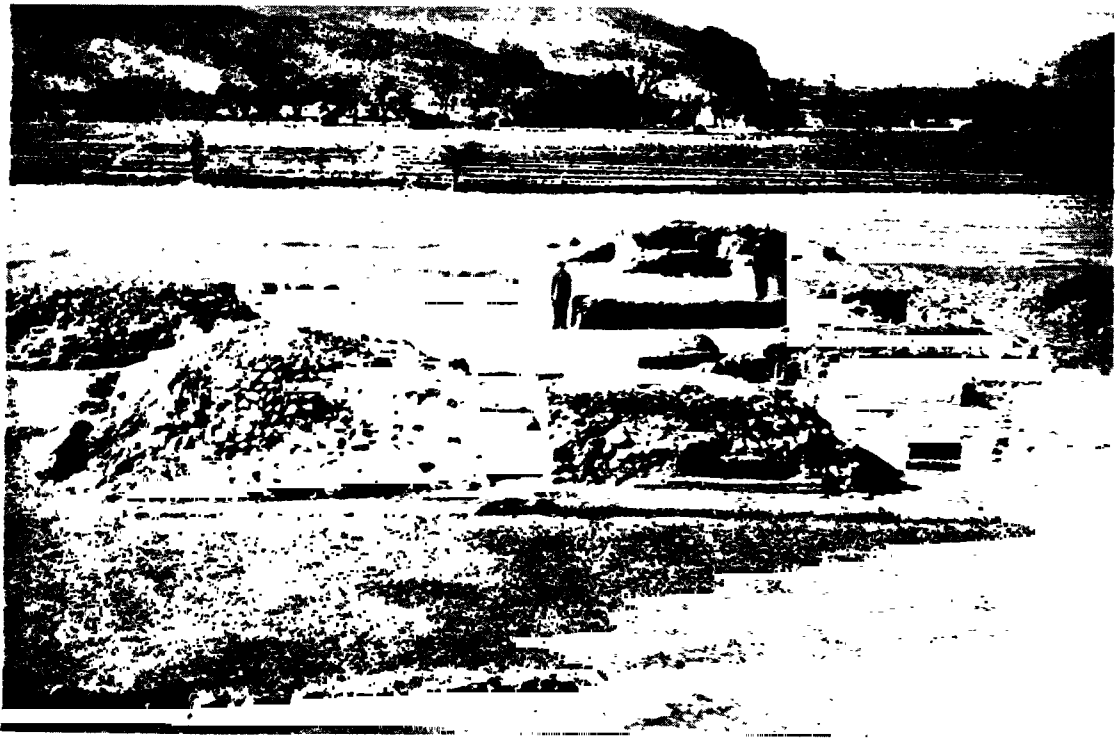
Pl. 30 a. (No. 51). This is a very fine head of the Buddha in terracotta about ten inches high. His smooth face, half closed eyes, straight nose and fleshy cheeks speak of the moulded technique that must have produced this form. The wavy hair overhead is also very stylistic. The inside of the head was hollow. It was full of loose clay.

Pl. 30 b. (No. 52). Three stucco heads produced for mass consumption. Two side ones are of the Buddha and the central one, which is turbaned, appears to be of a nobleman. The Buddha heads are of two different

varieties as far as the facial expression and the eyes are concerned but their hair style is of the same conventionalised type. The left hand Buddha has his half closed eyes almost horizontally drawn but the right hand one has the almond-shaped eyes askant. The turban of the central figure has a tall standing hood.



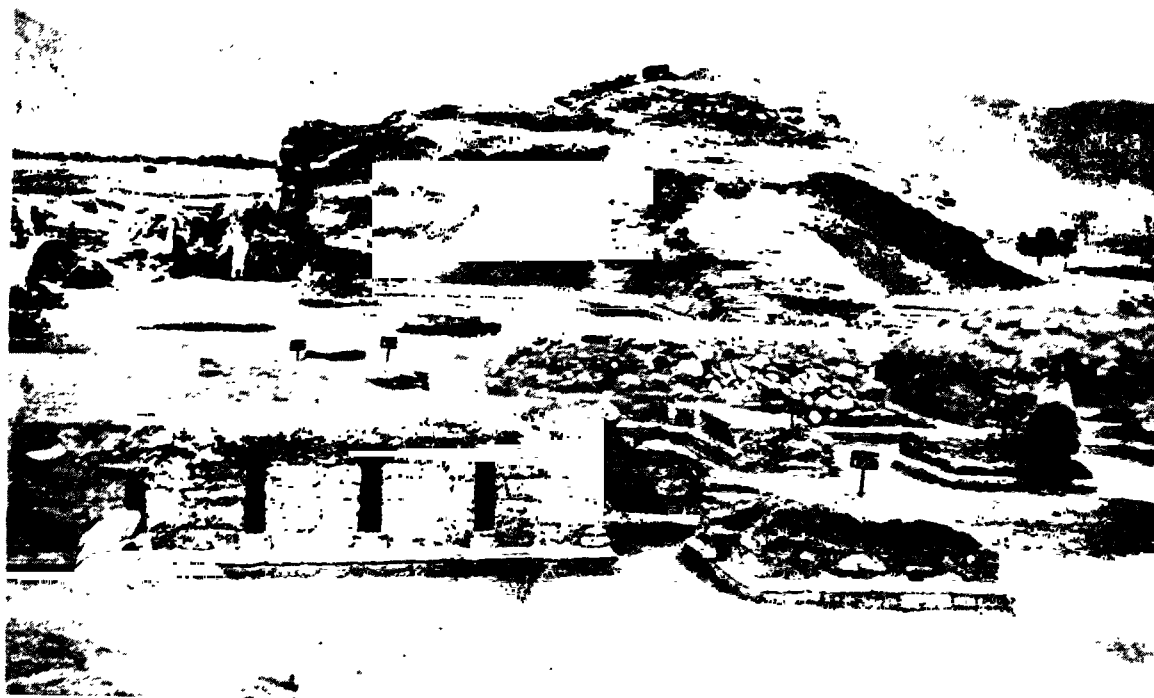
a. Andandheri — Looking down from the main stupa towards Katkela Pass. The votive stupas in the foreground.



b. Andandheri — Detail of the votive stupa and the monastic area.



a. Ardandheri — The main stupa from a distance.



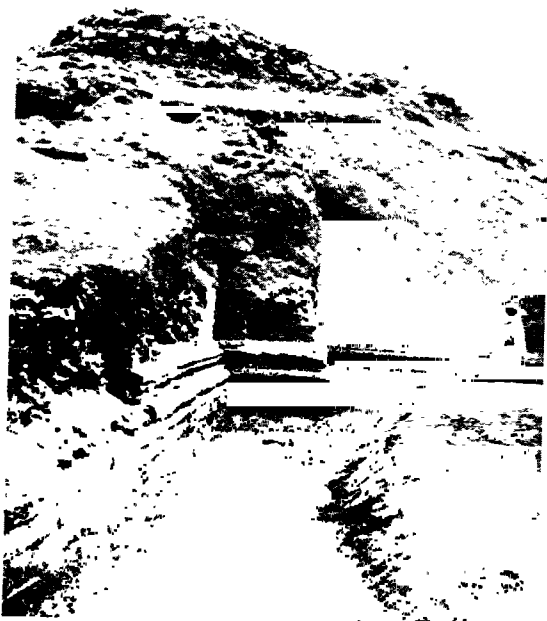
b. Ardandheri — The main stupa and the votive stupas from the north-west.



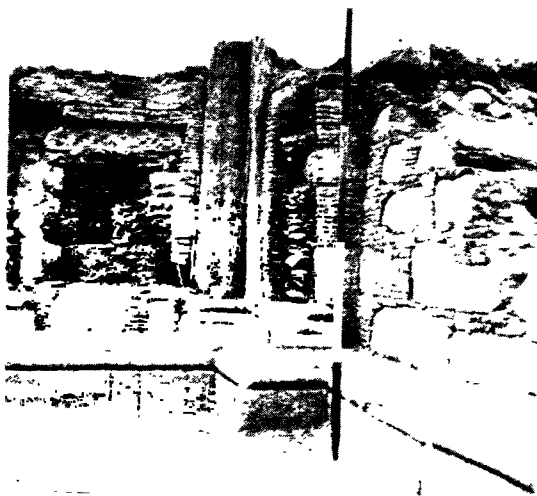
a. Andandheri — The main stupa from the west.



b. Andandheri — The main stupa from the south.



a. Andandheri — Main stupa —
paved path of the first period.



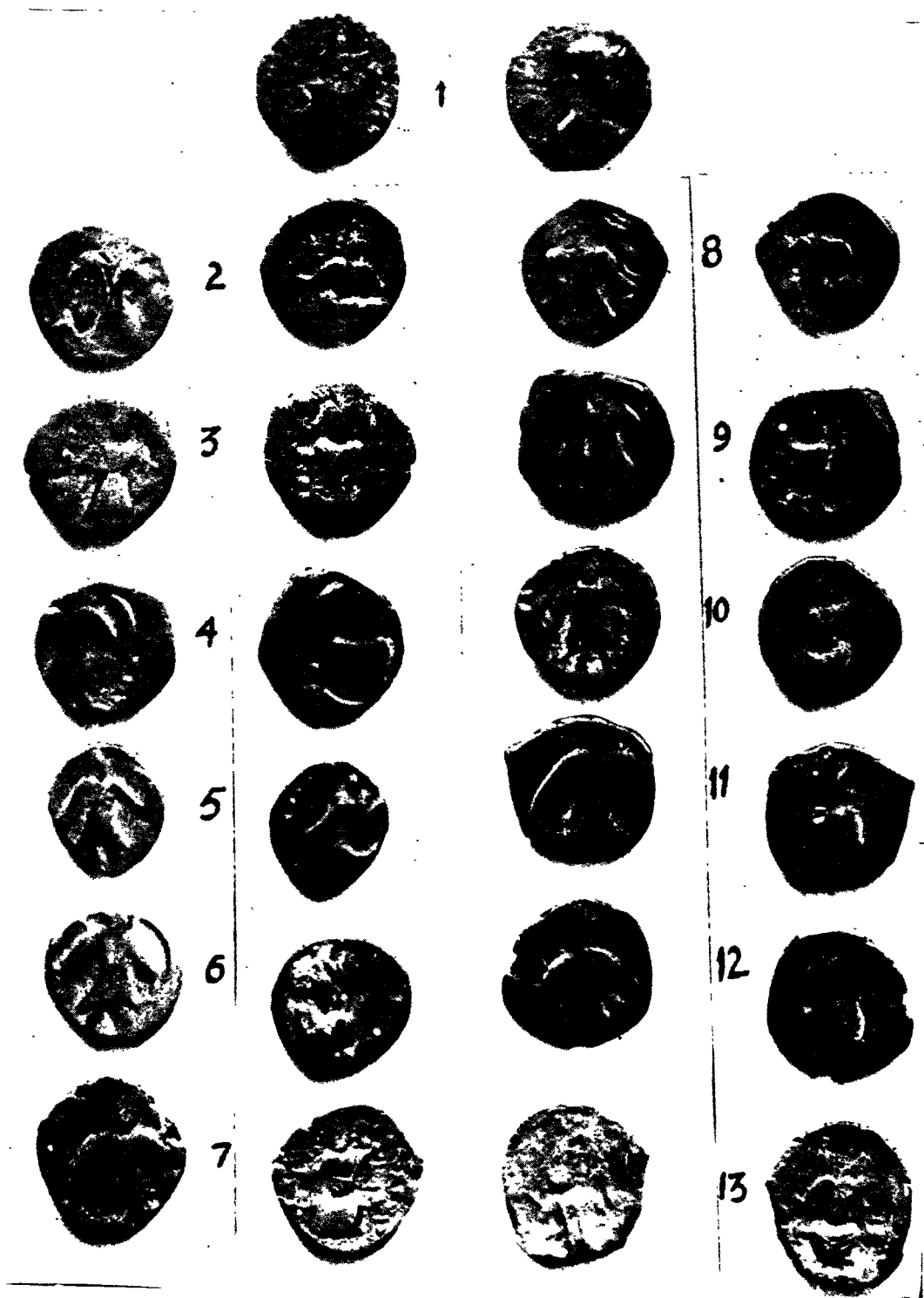
b. Andandheri — Votive stupa No.
1, side-view.



c. Andandheri — Votive stupa No.
10 with a panel at the step.



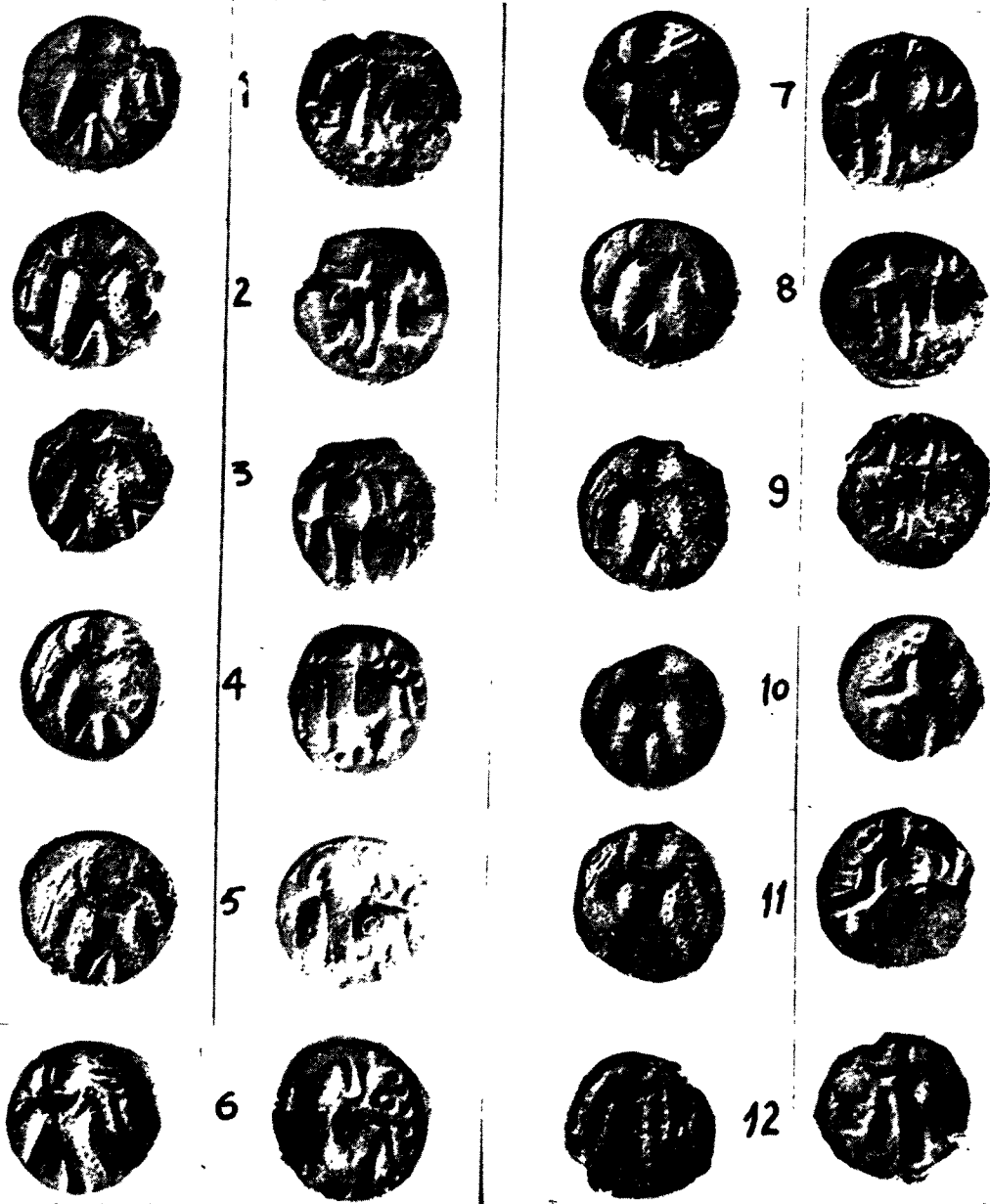
d. Andandheri — Monastic area.



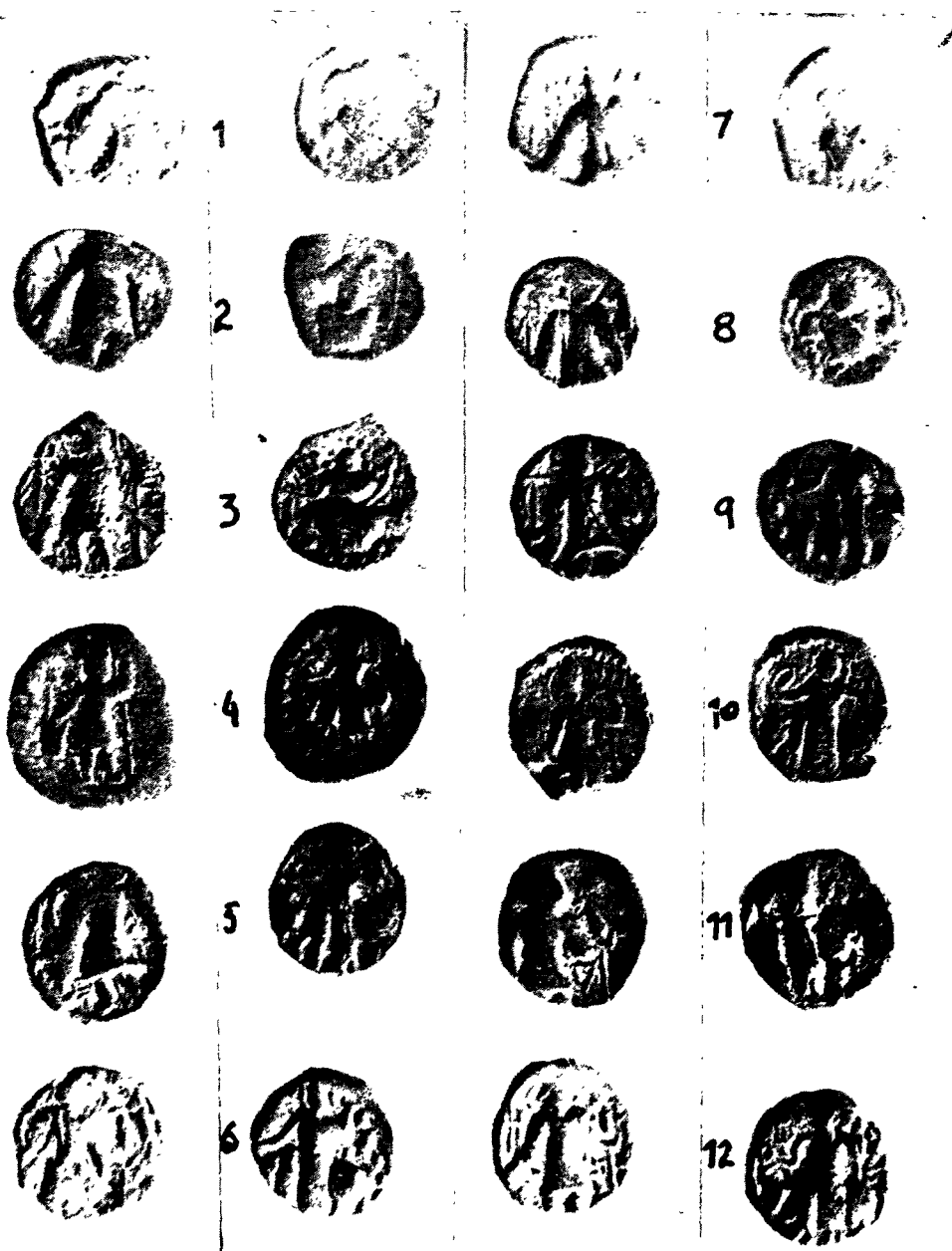
No. 1 — Scter Megas. Nos. 2 13 — Later Kushana Coins



Andandheri — Little Kushana Coins from hoard B



Andandheri — Little Kushana Coins from hoard C



Andandheri — Little Kushana Coins from hoard D.



a. Andandheri — No. 1 Soldiers and lady Musicians.



b. Andandheri — No. 2. A drinking scene.



a. Andandheri — No. 3. Two devotees.



b. Andandheri — No. 4. Five Monks.



Andandheri — No. 5. Buddha in the pose of reassurance



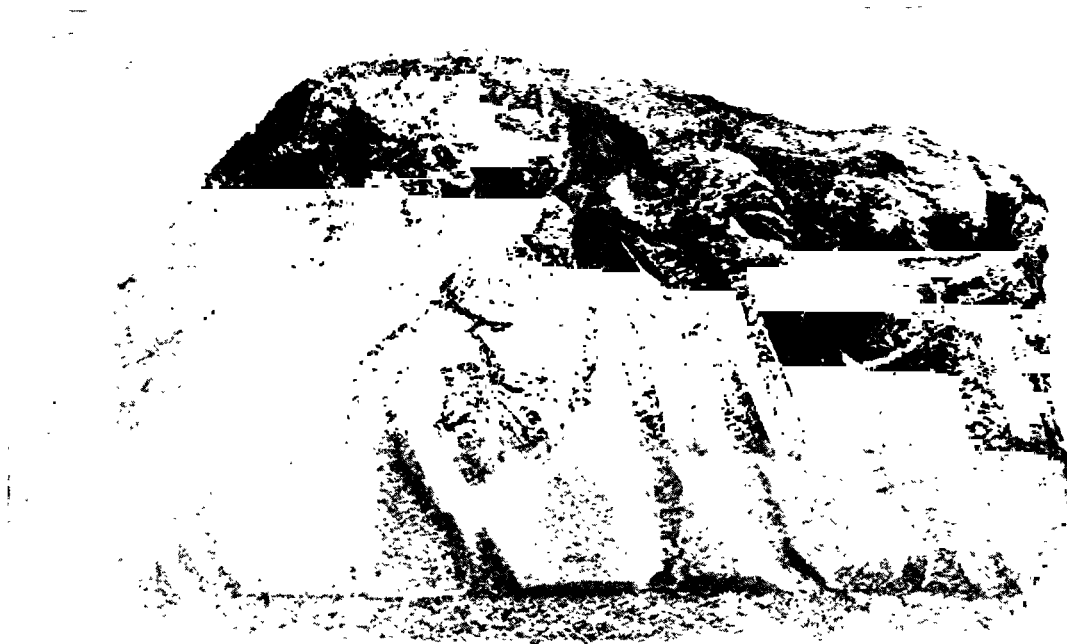
a. Andandheri — No. 6. Buddha head.



b. Andandheri — No. 7. Gods entreating Buddha.



a. Andandheri — No. 8. Buddha and other persons before a tree.



b. Andandheri — No. 9. Plucking the grape fruit.



a. Andandheri — No. 10. Soldiers and ladies.



b. Andandheri — No. 11. Worship of stupa.



a. Andandheri — No. 12. Buddha.



b. Andandheri — No. 13. Head of a lady.



a. Andandheri — No. 14. Worship of the three jewels



b. Andandheri — No. 15. A scene in Mara's attack.



a. Andandheri — No. 16. Two damaged figures.



b. Andandheri — No. 17. A devotee with an offering.



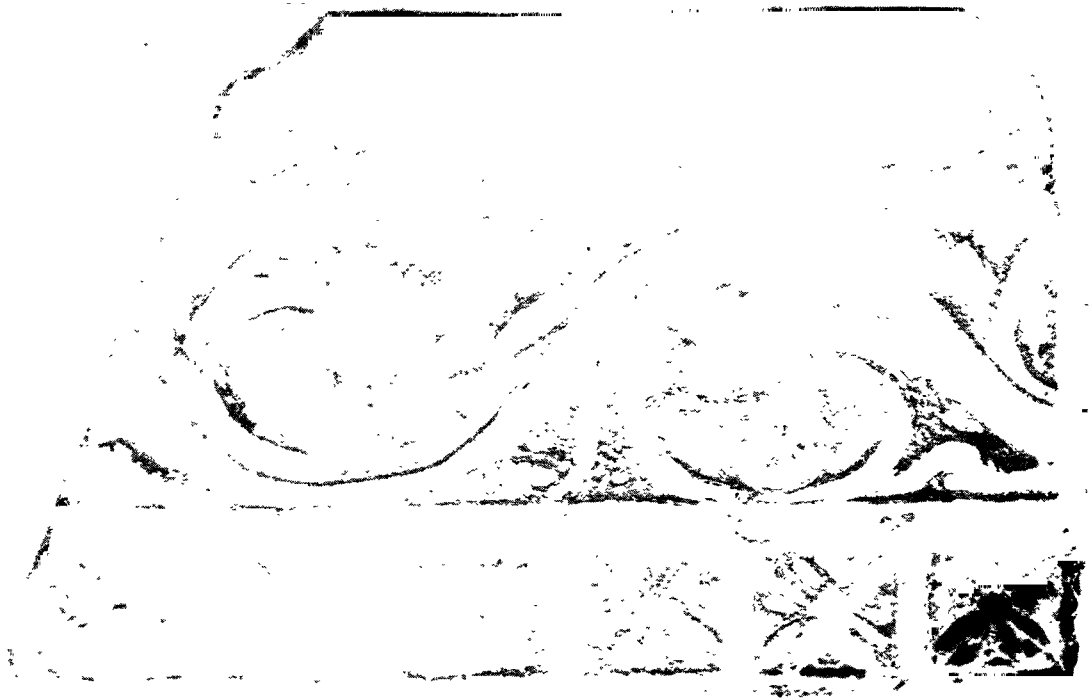
c. Andandheri — No. 19. Four tritons.



a. Andandheri — No. 18. Herakles within an arch.



b. Andandheri — No. 20. A winged triton.



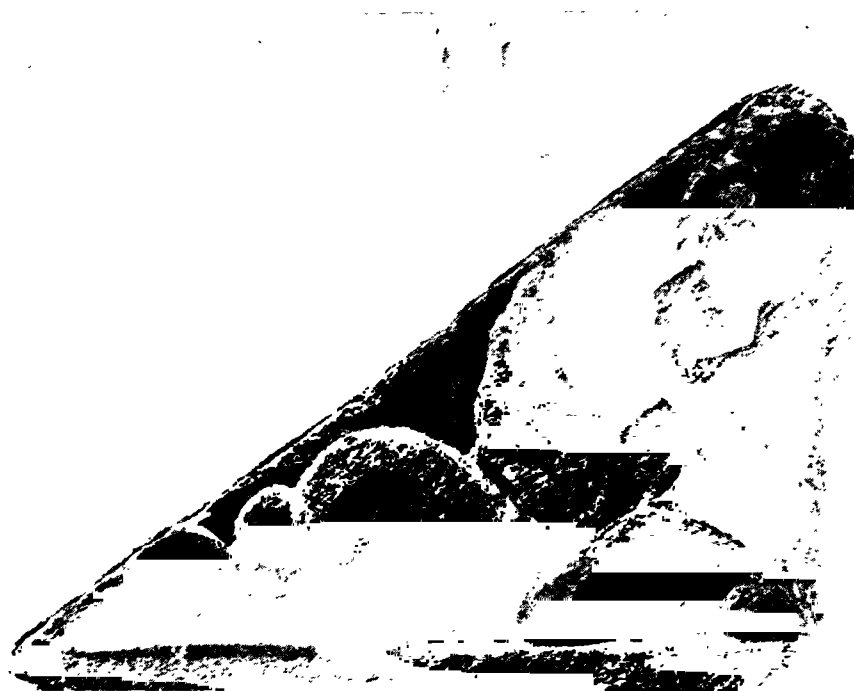
a. Andandheri — No. 21. A decorated slab.



b. Andandheri — No. 22. Prince Siddhartha lifting up an elephant.



a. Andandheri — No. 25. Head of a noble man



b. Andandheri — No. 26. Ichthyocentaur.



a. Andandheri — No. 27.
A marine bull.



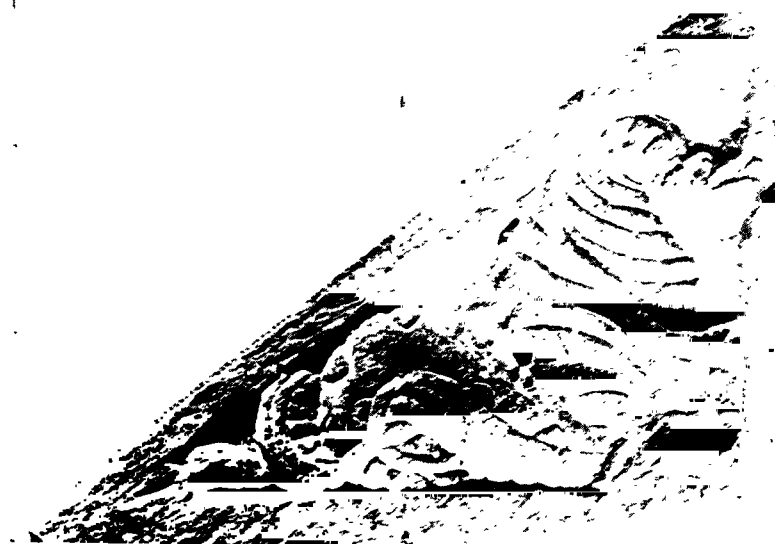
b. Andandheri — No. 28.
A marine horse.



c. Andandheri — No. 28.
A winged monster with
crocodile mouth.



a. Andandheri — No. 30. A winged monster with a ram's head.



b. Andandheri — No. 31. A winged monster with a duck's head.



c. Andandheri — No. 32. A man within acanthus leaves.



a. Andandheri — No. 34.
A male head



b. Andandheri No. 35. A male head.



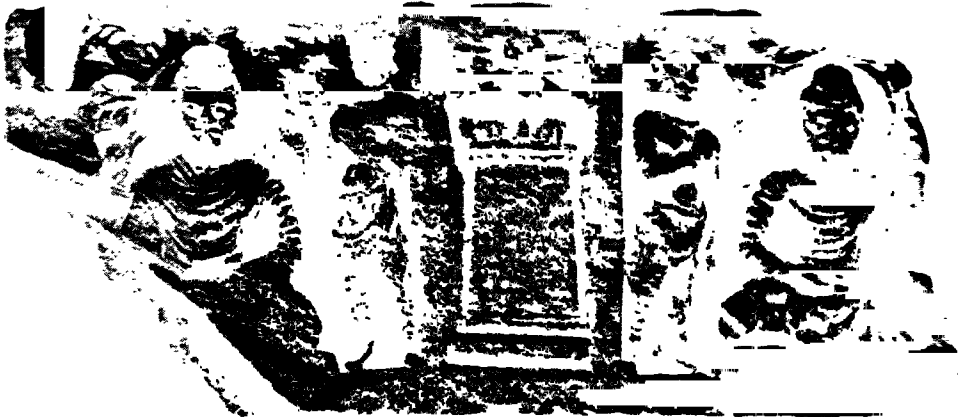
e. Andandheri — No. 37.
A male head.



c. Andandheri — No. 33.
Buddha head.



d. Andandheri — No. 36.
A female head.



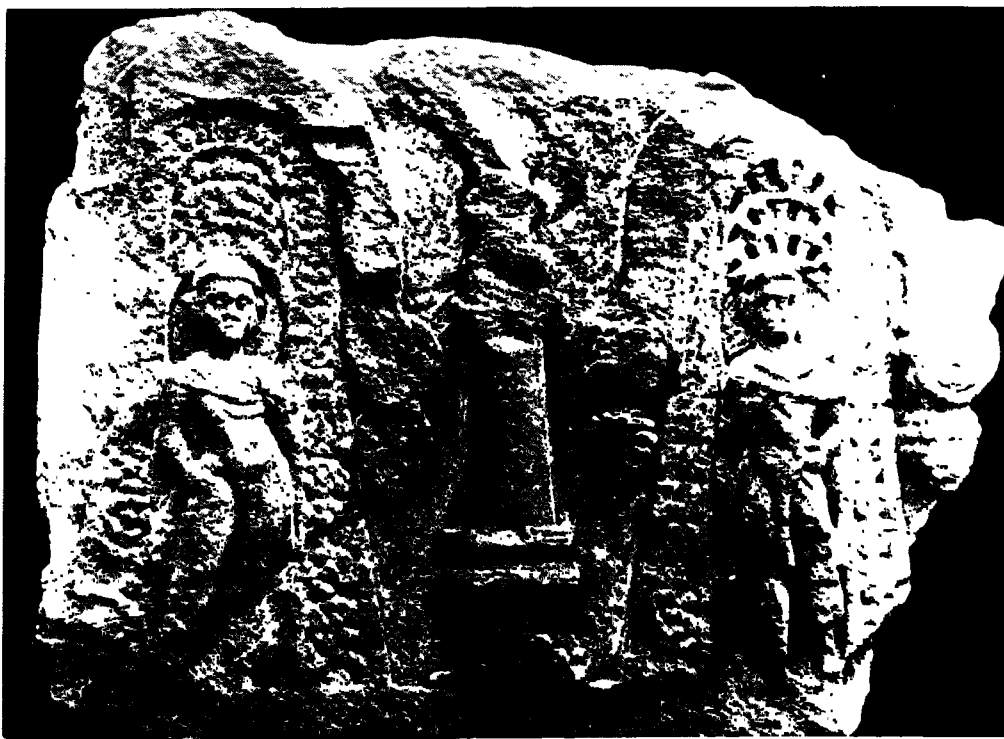
a. Andandheri — No. 38. Seated Buddha with devotees.



b. Andandheri — No. 40. Seated Buddha with devotees.



a. Andandheri — No. 43. A garland bearer.



b. Andandheri — No. 44. Two human figures.



a. No. 45. Ramora — A worshipper with a bowl in hands.



b. No. 46. Ramora — Bodhisattva.



a. No. 47. Ramora — Maya's dream.



b. No 48. Ramora — Gods entreat Buddha to preach



a. No. 49. Ramora — A couple seated on a chair



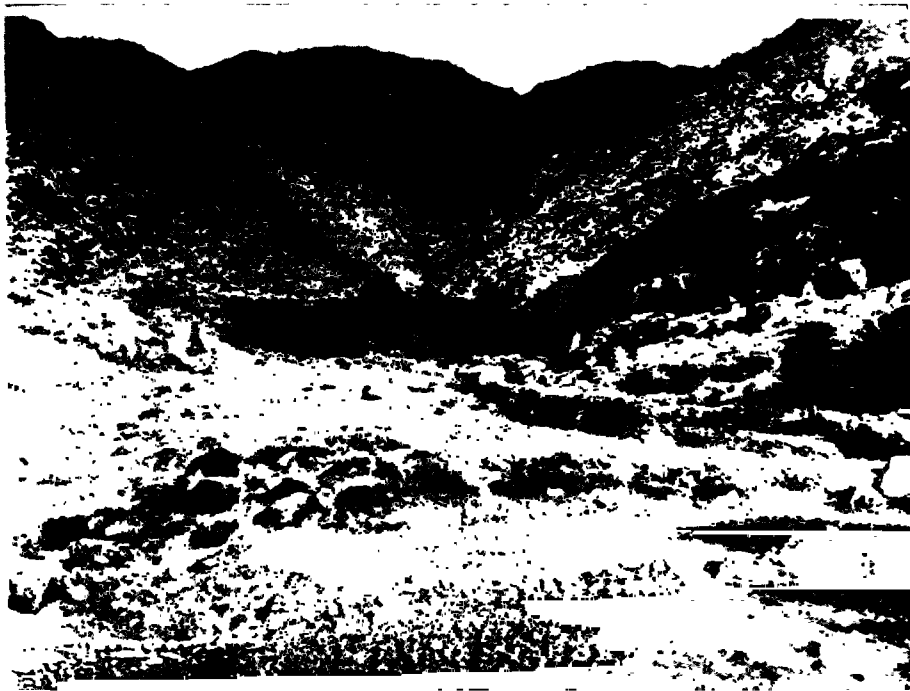
b. No. 50. Bambolai — Dipankara Jataka.



a. No. 51. Bambolai — Head of the Buddha
in terracotta.



b. No. 52. Bambolai — Three heads.



a. No. 53 Chatpat Valley general view.



b. No. 54 Chatpat site before excavation.



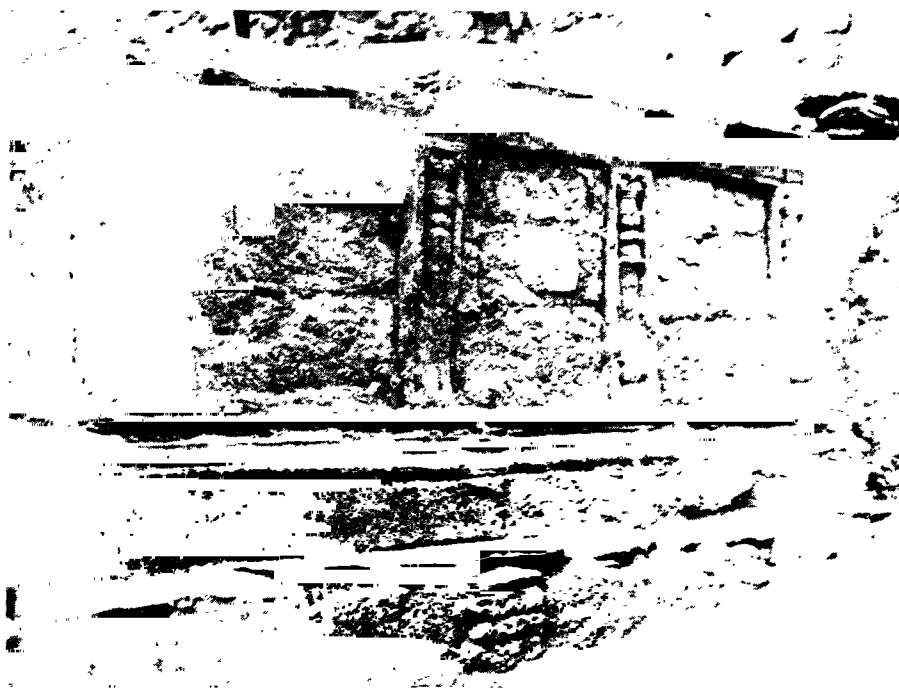
a. No. 55. Chatpat excavated remains (right side).



b. No. 56. Chatpat excavated remains (left side)



a. No. 57. Chatpat — a row of niches.



b. No. 58. Chatpat — Persepolitan column fixed at the stupa.



a. No. 59. Chatpat —
Stucco Buddha in situ.



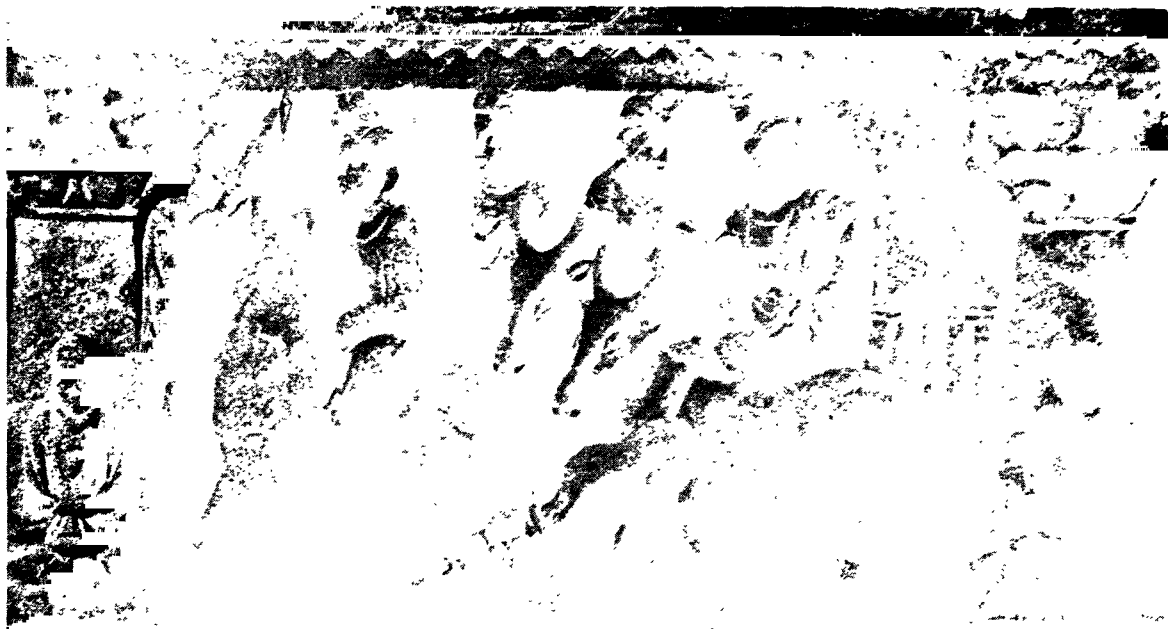
b. No. 60. Chatpat. Stucco Buddha in situ.



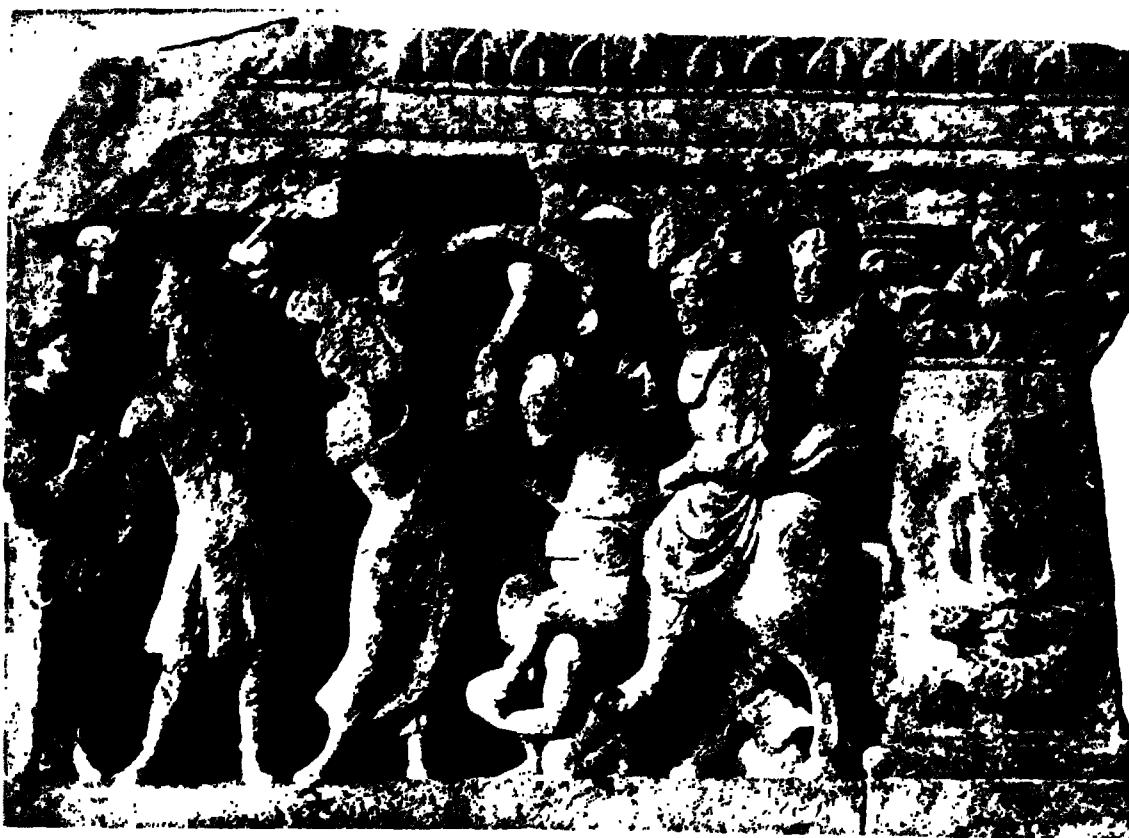
c. No. 61 Chatpat — Buddha of the
last period in situ.



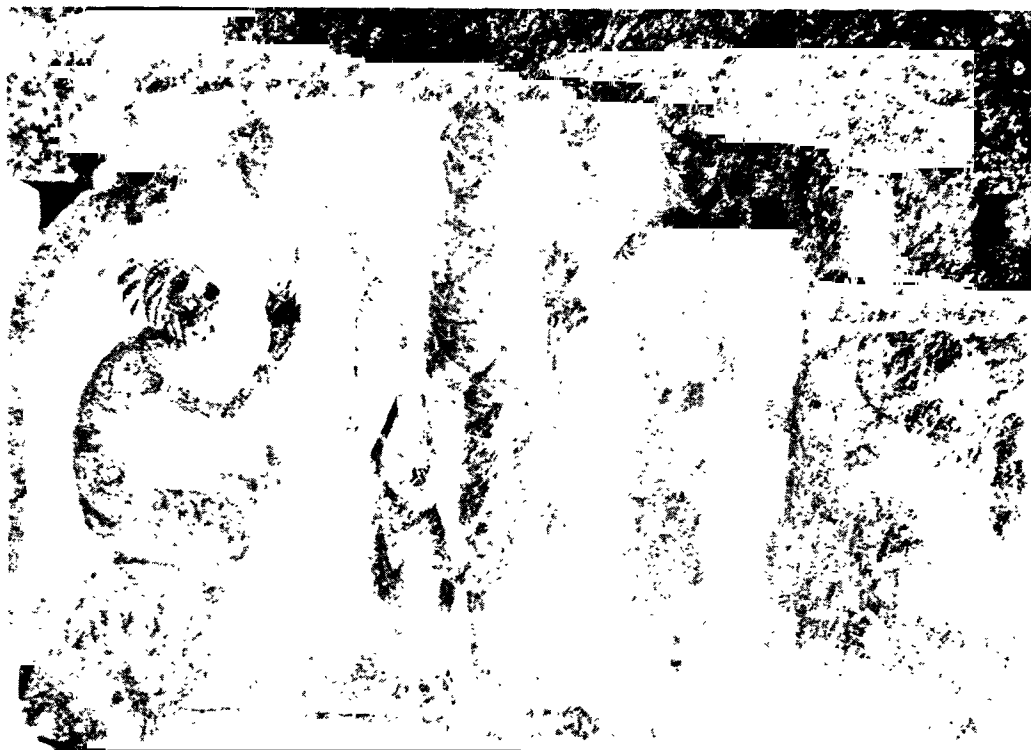
d. No. 62. Chatpat —
Debris over the stupa.



a. No. 63. Chatpat — Caravan Merchants (Period I).



b. No. 64. Chatpat — The Great Departure (Period I).



a. No. 65. Chatpat — Buddha and Kasyapa
(Period I)



b. No. 66. Chatpat — Left, Buddha with devotees;
Right, drinking scene (Period I).



a. No. 67. Chatpat — An archer (Period I).



b. No. 68. Chatpat — An Atlantis with shield in left hand (Period I).



c. No. 69. Chatpat — Atlantis with a cup (Period I).



a. No. 70. Chatpat — Seated Buddha on Corinthian Pillar (Period I).



b. No. 71. Chatpat — Standing Buddha on Corinthian pillar (Period I).



c. No. 72. Chatpat — Buddha on Persepolitan pillar (Period I).



a. No. 73. Chatpat — Buddha in a cave (Period I)



b. No. 74. Chatpat — Lion bracket (Period I).



c. No. 75. Chatpat — Devotees on Corinthian pillar (Period I).



a. No. 76 Chatpat —
A drummer (Period I)



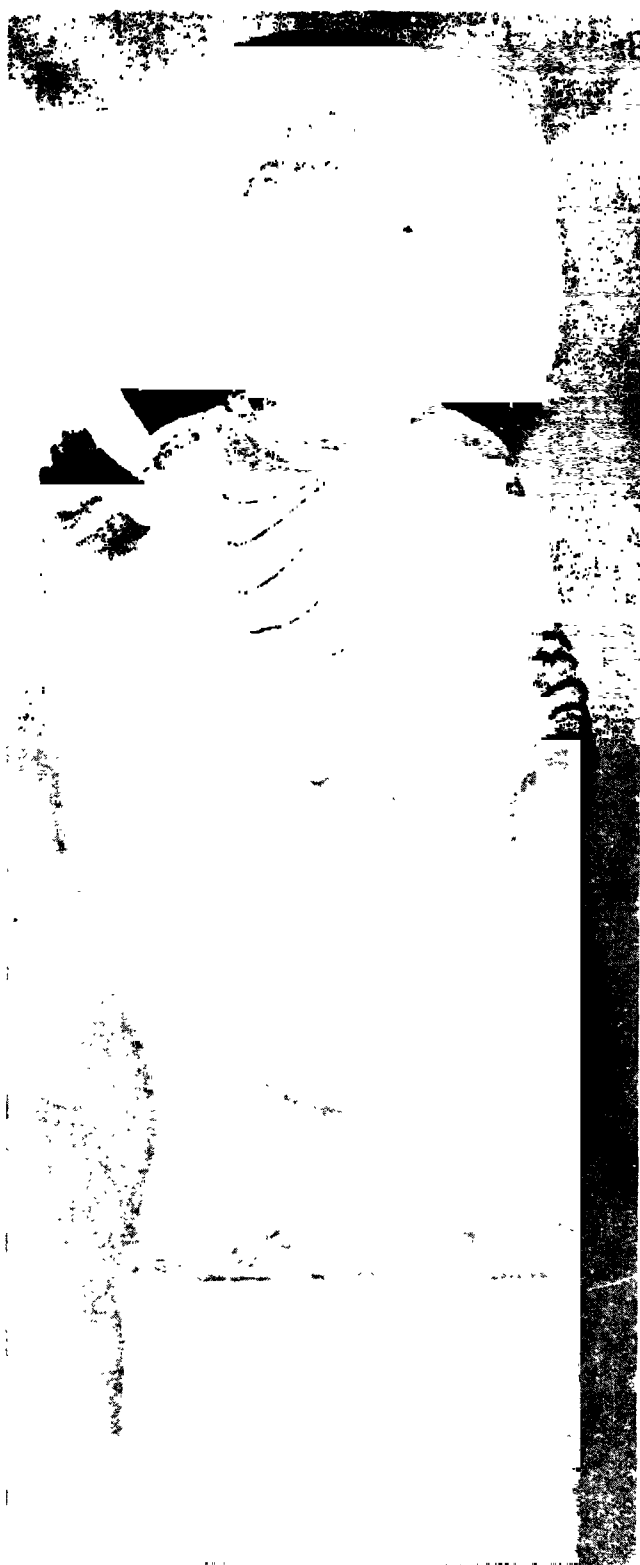
b. No. 77 Chatpat — A noble human (Period I)



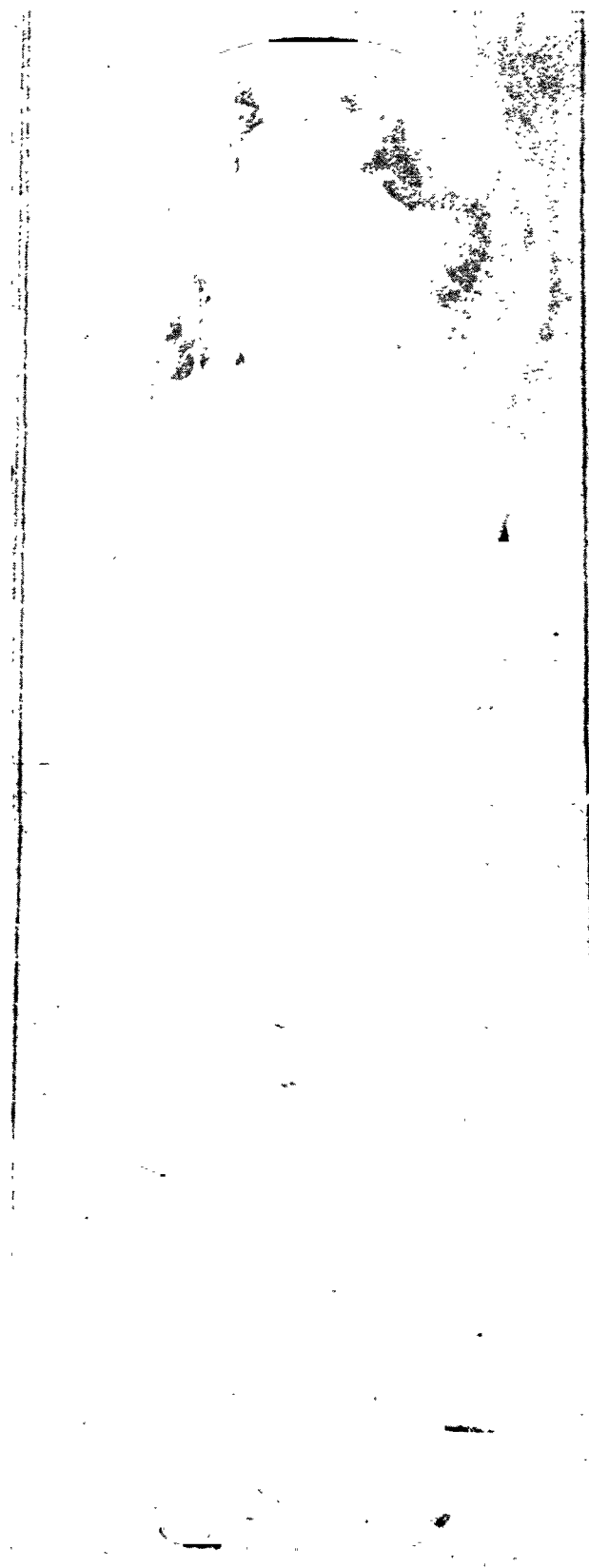
a. No. 78. Chatpat — A soldier at arms (Period I)



b. No. 79. Chatpat — A soldier at arms (Period I).



a. No.80. Chatpat — Standing Buddha in
Abhaya-mudra (Period II)



b. No. 81. Chatpat — Buddha with right
hand broken (Period II)



a. No. 82 Chatpat — Buddha with hands broken (Period II)



b. No. 83 Chatpat — Maitreya with right hand broken (Period II)



a. No. 84. Chatpat. — (Left) Departure scene
(Right) Palace scene (Period II)



b. No. 85. Chatpat — (Left) Death scene,
(Right) Indra's visit (Period II).



a. No. 86. Chatpat — (Left) Taming the elephant,
(Right) Acceptance of the offer (Period II).



b. No. 87. Chatpat — Taming the elephant (Period II)



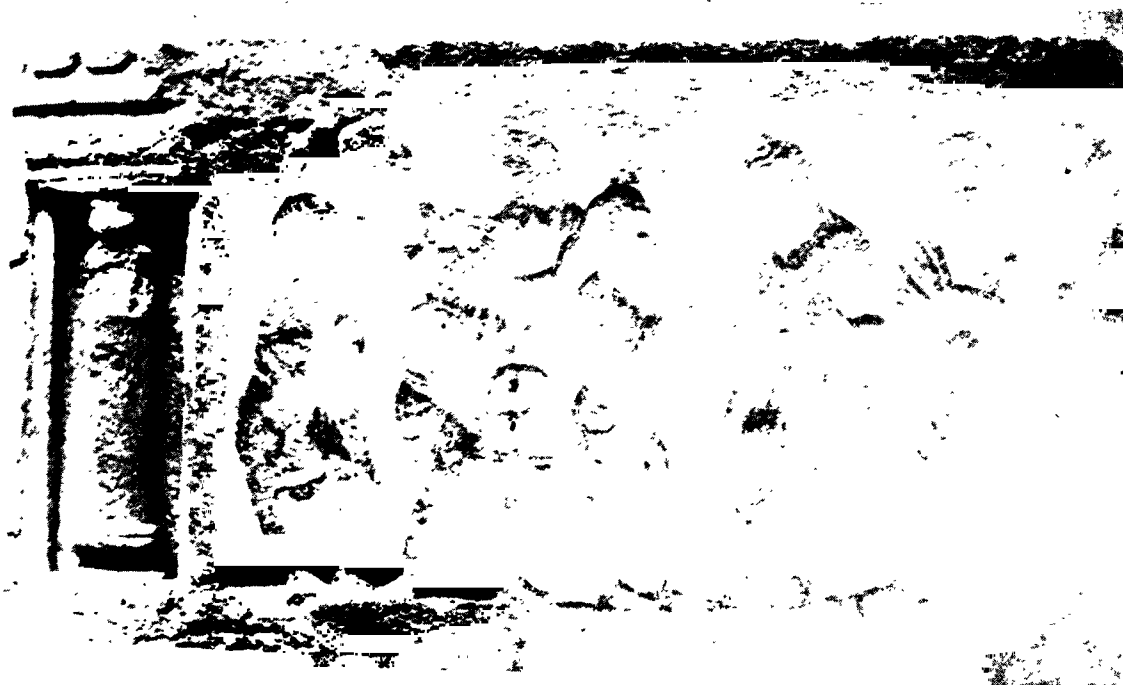
a. No.88. Chatpat — Acceptance of the children's offer (Period II)



b. No. 89. Chatpat — Nursing of the dead woman (Period II)



a. No. 90. Chatpat — Monkeys offer food (Period II)



b. No. 91. Chatpat — Preparation of the seat
(Period II)



a. No. 92. Chatpat — Dipankara Jataka (Period II).



b. No. 93. Chatpat — Seated Maitreya (Period II).



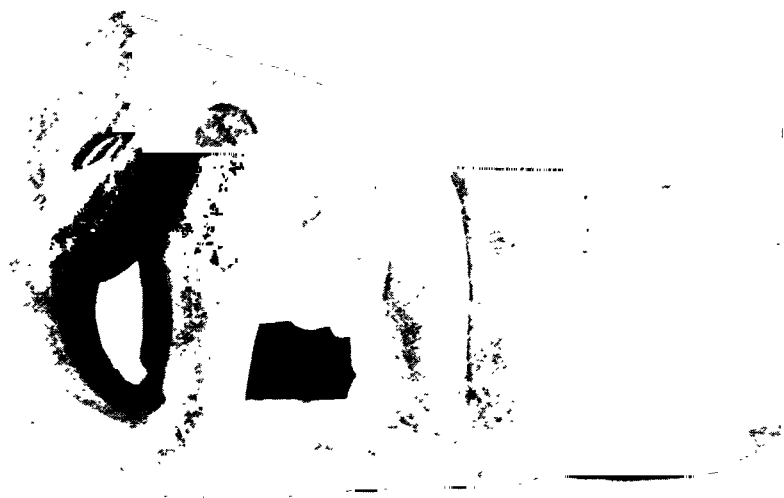
a. No. 94 Chatpat — Decorated Harmika (Period II)



b. No. 95 Chatpat — Winged Atlantis (Period II)



a. No. 96. Chatpat — Musicians (Period II).



b. No. 97. Chatpat — Elephant bracket (Period II).



c. No. 98. Chatpat — Garland bearers (Period II).



a. No. 99. Chatpat — Standing Buddha with right hand broken (Period III).

b. No. 100. Chatpat — Buddha with legs broken (Period III).



a. No. 101. Chatpat — Buddha with hands and lower part broken (Period III).

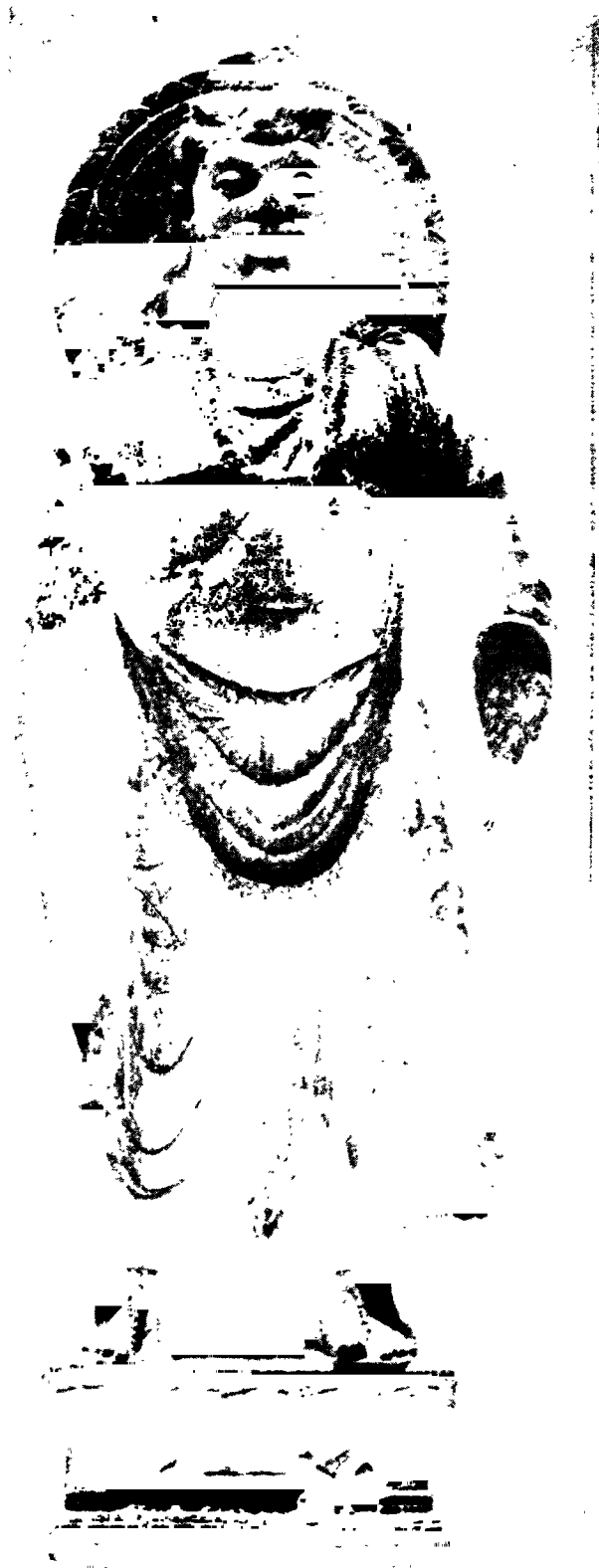


b. No. 102. Chatpat — Buddha with sides and lower part broken (Period III).

b. No. 104. Chatpat — Seated Buddha
with hands broken (Period III).



a. No. 103. Chatpat — Seated Buddha in
Abhaya-mudra (Period III).



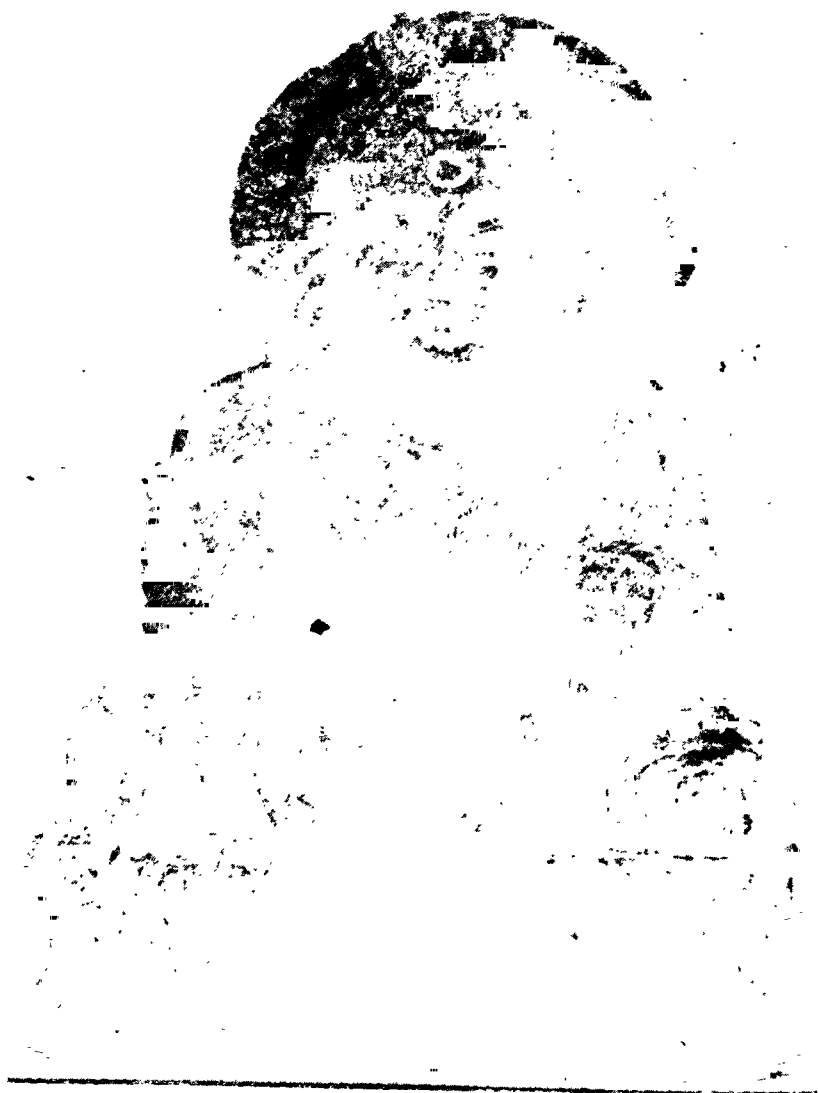
a. No. 105. Chatpat — Bodhisattva Siddhartha
(Period III).



b. No. 106. Chatpat — Standing Maitreya
(Period III).



a. No. 107. Chatpat — Seated Maitreya
(Period III).

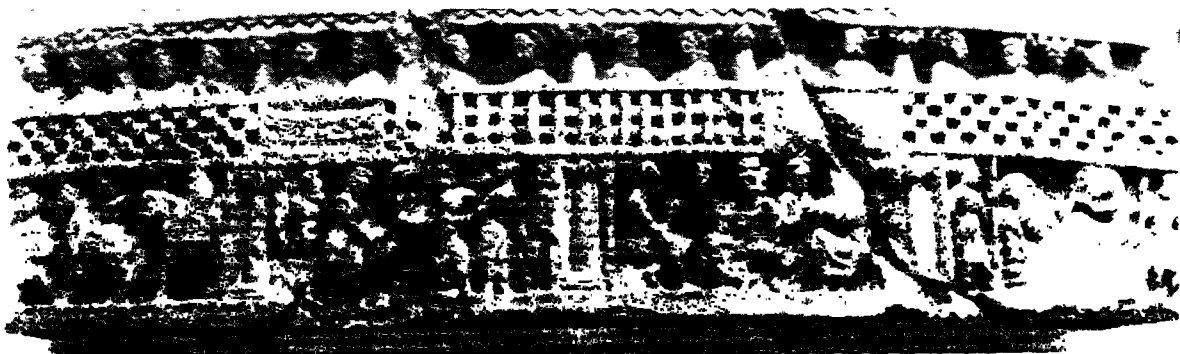


b. No. 108. Chatpat — Seated Maitreya with right
hand broken (Period III).

a. No. 109 Chatpat — Seated
Padmapani (Period III)



b. No. 110 Chatpat — Buddha and
devotees within an arch (Period III)



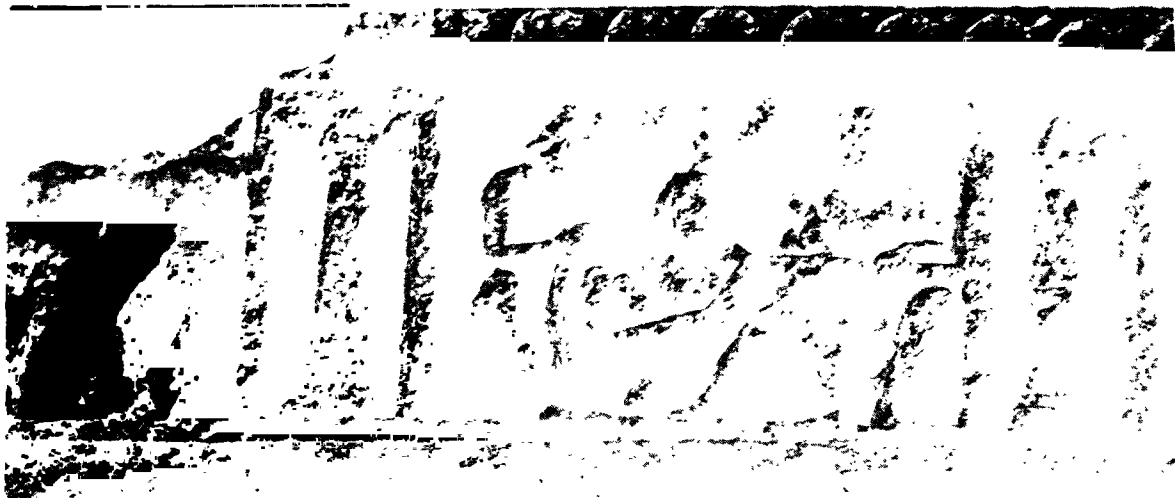
a. No. 111. Chatpat — (i) Maya's dream (ii) Interpretation of dream (iii) Birth of the Buddha (iv) Return to Kapilavastu. (Period III).



b. No. 112. Chatpat — (Right) Birth of the Buddha, (Left) Astrologer's prediction. (Period III).



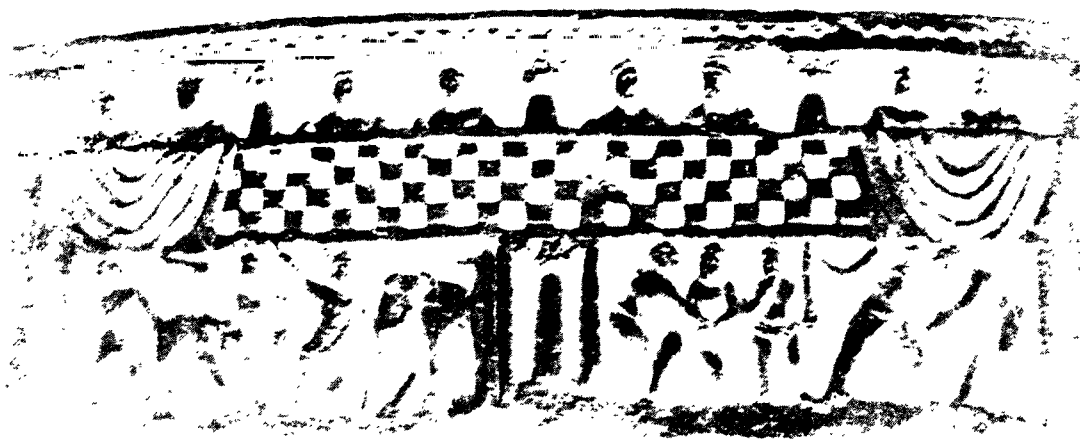
a. No. 113. Chatpat — (Right) Return to Kapilavastu, (Left) Astrologer's prediction.



b. No. 114. Chatpat — (Middle). Buddha learning to write (Period III)



a. No. 115. Chatpat — Buddha learning to write (Period III).



b. No. 116. Chatpat — (i) and (ii) Wrestling scenes,
(iii) Buddha throwing the elephant (Period III).



a. No. 117. Chatpat — Buddha seated in a cave
(Period III).



b. No. 118. Chatpat — Approach of monks (Period III).



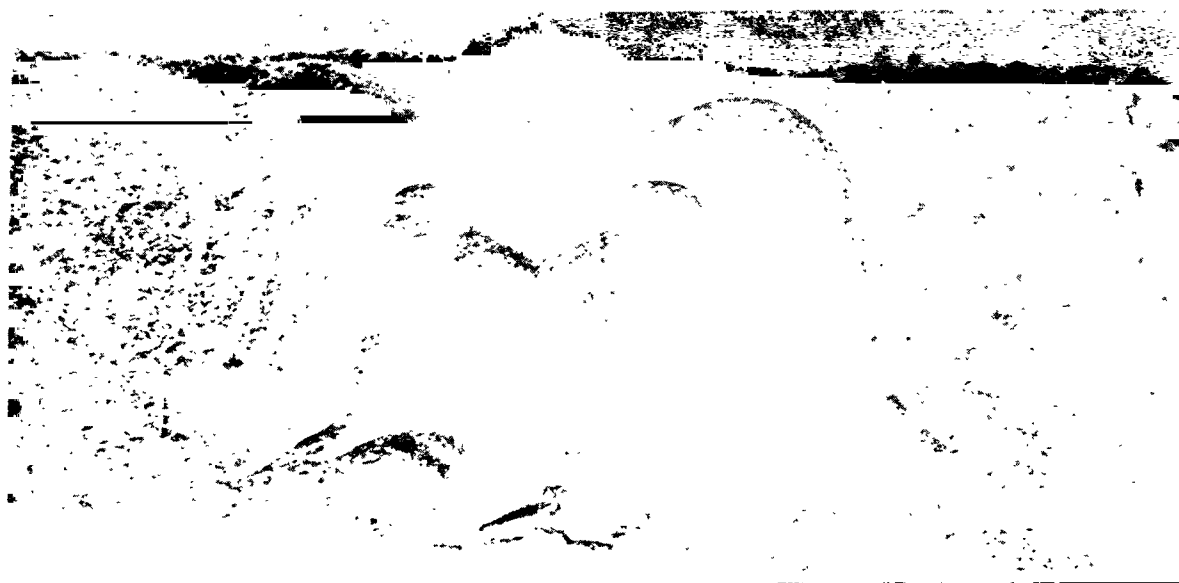
a. No. 119. Chatpat — Death of the Buddha (Period III).



b. No. 120. Chatpat — Dhyani Buddhas (Period III)



a. No. 121. Chatpat — Winged Atlas (Period III).



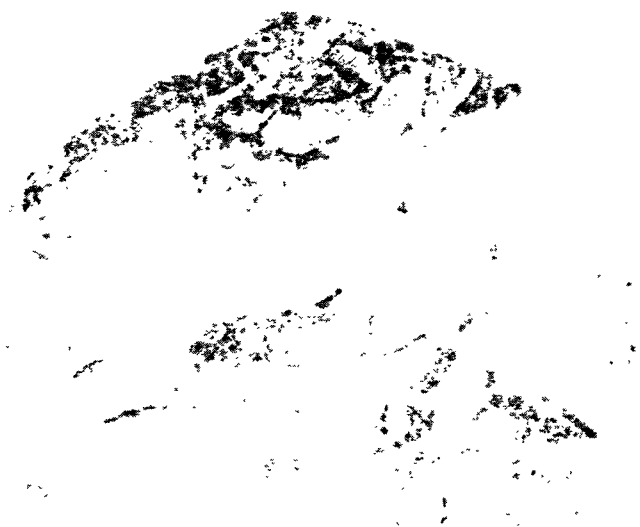
b. No. 122. Chatpat — Winged Atlas (Period III).



a. No. 123. Chatpat — Harmika with Buddha and devotees (Period III)



b. No. 124. Chatpat — Buddha in an arched cave (Period III)
Plate No. 63



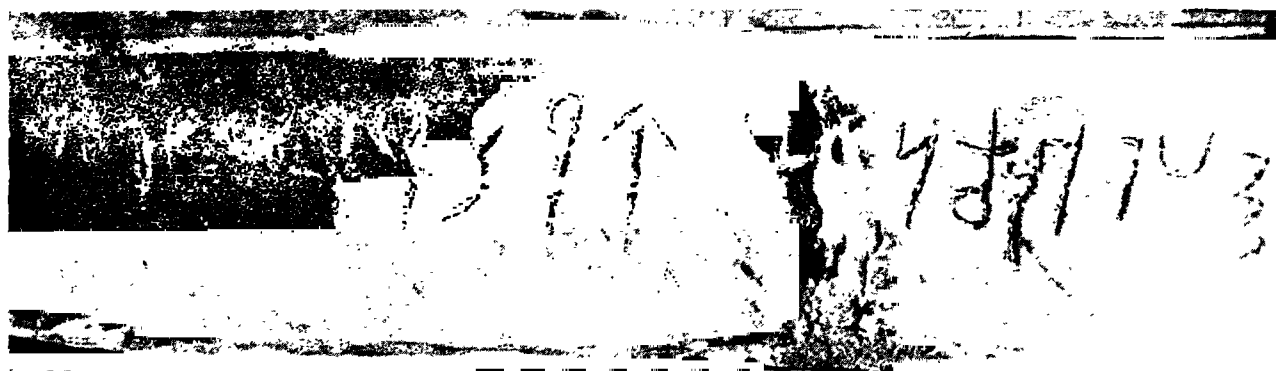
a. No. 125. Chatpat — Headless man seated
in a chair (Period III).

b. No. 126. Chatpat — A nude woman
(Period III).





a. No. 127 Chatpat — A series of lamps (Period I)



b. No. 128. Chatpat — Kharoshthi Inscription
on the side of the lamps.

SECTION III.

EXCAVATION AT CHATPAT

By PROF. AHMAD HASAN DANI

The excavation of the small Buddhist site at Chatpat was undertaken to illustrate the occupation of many such hill bends, corners and secluded areas during the hey-day of the Kushanas. Away from the common rut of life but still within a visible distance of the gay life of the world, steeped as it is in the terrestrial greenery and enlivened by the perennial flow of the splashing water, these Buddhist settlements served as peaceful rendezvous for the seekers of happiness. The laymen and women dedicated their prized treasures to these places and kept them on for centuries. It is the quiet leisure that helped in the creation of the beautiful sculptures of the Gandhara Art. The development of the art depended as much on the patronage of the people as on the availability of the monk—artists who continued to manufacture the art specimens in the traditional style with only rare examples of new varieties. The main aim of the excavation was to gather more and more in-situ materials and search a way towards the reconstruction of a chronological scheme. Mr. Sardar Mohammad Khan the Field Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology was primarily responsible for the excavation. The materials are presented here in the words of Professor Dani.

INTRODUCTION: Mr. Rahatullah Jaral, the then Political Agent of Dir, placed at our disposal the services of an archaeological Inspector, Mr. Mohammad Shirin. His main duties were to go about in the State, detect the treasure hunters and find out the places where they stealthily robbed the art materials in the darkness of the night. One such place was located near Chatpat, literally meaning the place of huge stone blocks. Such stones lay plentifully scattered in the fields and some had been removed by the villagers right to the ends of the fields. On examination these stones were found to be the sealing stones of the Bronze and Iron Age graves. Chatpat is a small village lying at a distance of five furlongs from the main Chakdara-Dir road and about a mile and a half from Chakdara. The village came into existence about hundred years ago and was peopled by the labourers sent by the landowners of Uchh and Chakdara. The village huts are seen from the main road amidst green trees, perched on a slope of the hill that proceeds northward. At this point the hill makes a sharp bend and sends out a

spur eastward, thus creating a glen (Pl. 31 a.) that gradually descends down and allows the over-flow of a water spring. It is the water of this spring that makes a *khwar* and further helps in the living of the villagers. We can cross over the eastern spur and go to the other side known as Shamalai. On that side there is another water spring which led to Buddhist settlements. Near the water spring there are two caves, both of which were occupied by the Buddhists and also by the people who have left behind two good examples of stone axe, now preserved in the Dir Museum at Chakhara. The Chatpat Buddhist site (Pl. 31 b.) is located two furlongs west of the village on the northern slope of the glen and comes right down to the very edge of the Khwar. From the height of this sequestered corner we can have a picturesque view of the Swat river and of the greenery that it spreads around. The panoramic view at once reminds us of the high sense of beauty that the Buddhist monks possessed and of the particular care that they took in the selection of the site. Removed from the pleasures of the world but in full view of the wondrous beauty of nature, the Buddhists exemplify in their life the belief of looking at the flittering pleasures from the aloofness of calm meditation. The secluded corner at Chatpat no doubt gave to the Buddhists the needed repose and tranquility of life.

The actual site had been turned into terraced fields by the local villagers and the stones from the stupas had been removed to build the supporting walls for the fields. Right from the level of the Khwar the terraces went up to a height of some fifty feet along the slope of the hill and all over the ruins were scattered. The architectural pieces and broken sculptures were scattered here and there. In late March 1968 Prof. Dani detailed Mr. Sardar Mohammad Khan and Mr. Fidaullah Sehrai to save the remaining materials and lay trenches in the preserved portion. Mr. Aurangzeb Khan was deputed by the Dir authorities to look after the financial commitments. While Mr. Mohammad Sabir took the photographs, Mr. Mohammad Daud Kamal drew up the plan and section.

Method of Excavation: As the occupation site was a hill slope and the area had been given to terrace cultivation and later to treasure hunting, it was useless to have the trenches in the grid fashion. What was necessary was to salvage the materials in a scientific way. It was therefore decided to lay five longitudinal trenches from the edge of the Khwar right up to the top occupation of the hill particularly in those areas where least disturbance was suspected. These trenches were aligned north to south, each fifteen feet wide. Soon after the removal of the top soil the stumps of the stupas were exposed. As all the trenches gave evidence of identical stratification

it was finally resolved to preserve and draw only one main section (see Fig. 5) across the occupation so that a complete sequence is built up. This section has enabled us to reconstruct the history of the site from the earliest time to the last erection of the stupas.

Chronology: Three main periods have been noted in the construction of the buildings at Chatpat.

Period I. The first period starts with the making up of the paved floor in front of the original stupas. The make-up material, consisting of potsherds, gives to us the initial bracketing date for the start of the occupation at Chatpat. As the pottery belongs to the Scytho-Parthian and the early Kushana period, it is clear that the foundation of the Chatpat Buddhist site was laid in the late first century A.D. at the earliest. There is also another confirmatory evidence. A Kharoshthi inscription, found in the first period, belongs to the earliest phase of the Kushana writing and hence places the early constructions to the first century A.D.

Period II: A number of square shaped votive stupas were erected in this period. Four of them were aligned in one direction with a short platform in front. There is no internal evidence to give an absolute date to these constructions.

Period III: To this period falls the last building phase of the stupa No. 12 and a row of niches behind the line of the main stupas and also several other votive stupas. It is this time that a step was added to the stupa No. 12. There is no internal evidence to provide for the absolute date of this building phase. But the style of construction is identical with the stepped stupa built at Damkot, the last phase of the stepped stupa at Andan Dheri, and a series of niches built in the last phase at Bambolai. If these comparisons are valid, this last phase should not have been built before fourth century A.D.

As the cross-section (Fig 5) clearly shows, there are two distinct periods of the construction of V.S. 12, in between which comes layer (2) consisting of loose earth, stones, ashes and charcoal, The paved floor, which underlines layer (3) must have been built along with the first period of V.S. 12. Underneath this floor was its make up, layer (4) consisting of loose earth with pottery and sand. The pot sherds are described below (Fig. 6).

No. 1:- It is an incense burner of red ware, having hollow inturned

stand. The upper bowl has an out-turned lip, slightly straightened at the upper part and the lower portion gradually curves down to the stand. Several varieties of incense burners were found at Shaikhan Dheri in the early Kushana level, (see *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol 11, fig. 52, No. 5, 6, 7, and Fig. 53 No. 8) Out of these No. 6 has a similar stem though the cup resembles that of No. 5. From the Scytho-Parthian level of Shaikhan Dheri (Fig. 31 No. 11) a similar example has been found. The Chatpat variety continued in this area and is found in Damkot in a slightly modified form.

No. 2:- Is a neck of a redware pitcher and has a broad neck with squarish rim. It is comparable with No. 2. fig. 35 from Shaikhan Dheri (*Ancient Pakistan* Vol. 11). The latter comes from the Scytho-Parthian level.

No. 3. is a neck of a red-ware pitcher, It has a long neck and clubbed rim. Such rims are known in the early Kushana period.

Nos. 4 & 5 are small sherds of grey ware of rounded bowls and are comparable with the Shaikhan Dheri fig. 46 No. 7.

No. 6. is a red ware sherd of a bowl.

No. 7. is a piece of bowl of grey ware and is comparable with Shaikhan Dheri fig. 23 Nos. 4 and 6, coming from the Scytho-Parthian level.

No. 8. is another red ware piece of bowl having incurved rim.

No. 9. is a piece of grey-ware bowl with a thick rim.

No. 10. is a flat-topped rim of a big basin, common in the early Kushana period.

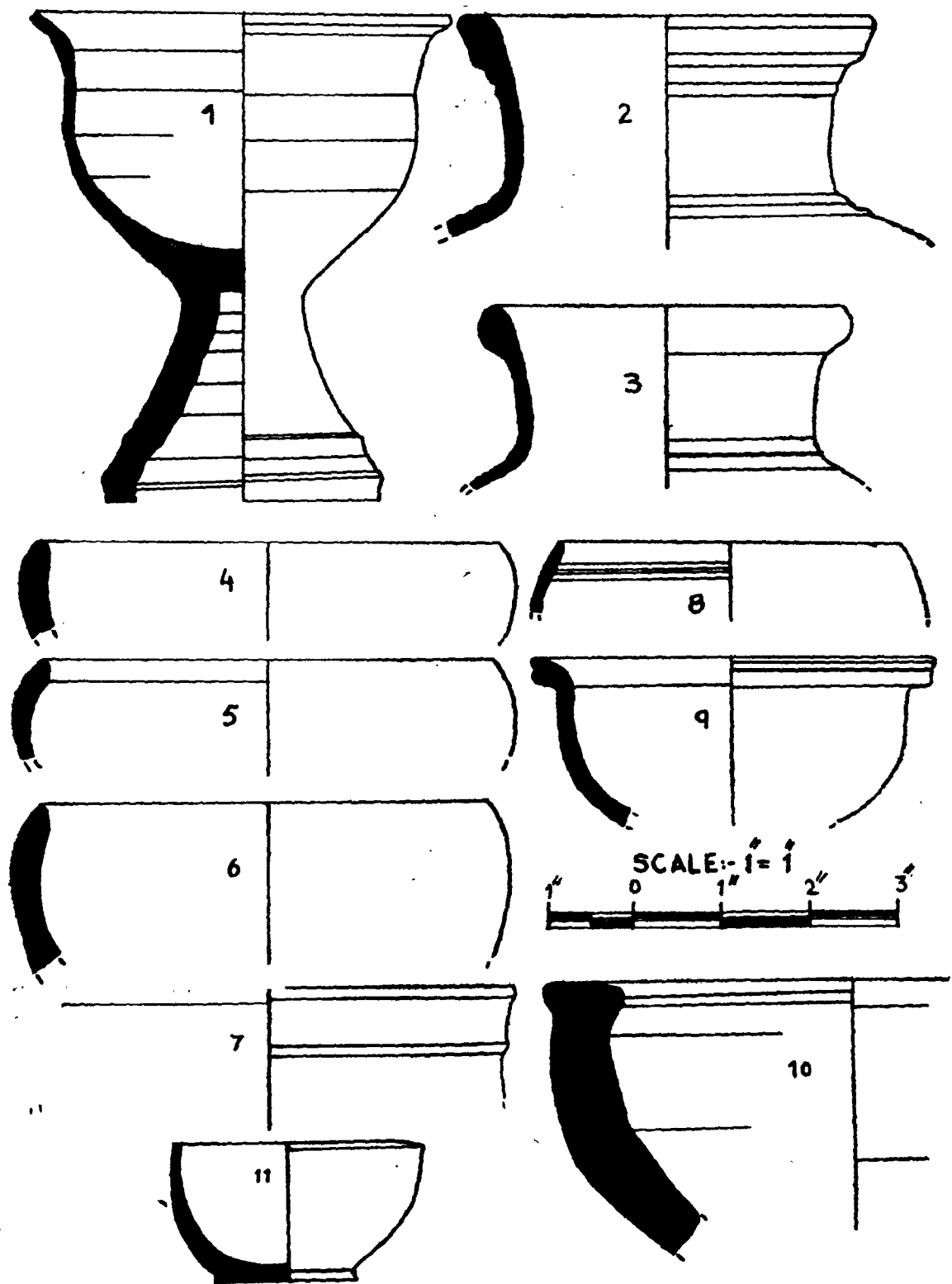
No. 11 is an oil lamp with pinched mouth and flat base.

The above comparisons suggest that the floor must have been very early in the Kushana period. We are thus enabled to arrive at the initial date of the construction at Chatpat.

A close study of the first period of V.S. 12 stupa reveals a system of architectural construction that is noted only in the cases of V.S. Nos. 3, 7, 9 and 21. This identical fashion of construction suggests that all these stupas must have been built in the first phase.

Period III: On the other hand the second phase of the construction of V.S.

12 shows the incorporation of a niche on the top of the base of the stupa. Such niches have also been found at Nimogram in Swat. Here at Chatpat a series of such niches was built in a row, numbering V.S. 6, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 32 and a few more behind the stupas, numbering V.S. 11, 18, 26, 28, 29, 30, Pf. 5, Pf. 6 and 31. Some were built as



CHATPAT
POTTERY FROM THE PRE-FLOOR LEVEL

Fig. 6

an afterthought like V.S. Nos. 1, Pf. 3, 19, 20, 22, 25 and 27. All these belong to the third period of construction.

Period II: In between these two come the votive stupas of the second period numbering V.S. 14, 15, 16, 17, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, and 24. These votive stupas fall into two groups:- (a) Those which cluster round the stupas of the first period and (b) those which are in a different alignment in a row, numbering 14, 15, 16, and 17. In the drawing (fig. 4) by mistake V.S. 14 is shown cutting V.S. 6. It is actually the other way round. Thus, after correcting this mistake, we get the stratigraphic evidence to show this group of the stupas to be earlier than the niches in the back row. Similarly the plan itself shows the votive stupas of group (a) to be earlier than the additions made in the third period. The last period additions all lie in odd places and have mostly niches above the basement.

Buildings: Before the buildings were erected the corner of these hills was smoothly flattened and three different tiers were prepared. The *Khwar* (hill torrent) was to remain at the lowest level undisturbed in order to supply water. Stone-flagged steps were built (Fig. 4) at the left end to go down to the water. The second terrace, was deliberately prepared for the sacred stupas. It measures 142'x57'6" at the widest. The floor was made ready by ramming the earth and sand and it was held firm by erecting rough wall of stone (Pl. 32 a.) on the southern side. This wall, as the plan shows, did not go straight. On the left half it had to be further widened to accommodate the stupas of period III. The floor was flagged with flat stones all over. In order to reach the third terrace a second staircase (pl. 32 b) was added at the left end. These steps led up to the top where the remains of a few surviving monastic cells were found. Unfortunately most of the walls had fallen down and it was difficult to trace the size of the monastery. In any case it could not have been a big one.

The stupa remains (Pl. 32 a) in the second terrace stand out boldly in the background of the hill. As we climb from the bottom terrace of the *Khwar* along the steps on the left, we come up to the stone flagged floor and have a view of the stupas V.S. 25, 27, a niche in front of 27 containing a meditating Buddha (Pl. 34 a and b) in stucco, and then three rows of stupas all at an angle from the first two mentioned above. In the last row comes the line of niches (Pl. 33 a) and at the right hand side is a group of the four stupas. Today we go in the reverse order as we approach from the neighbouring village. The *Khwar* has cut down deeper bed and hence the steps on the left side are hardly of any use. We climb up the new ramp at

the right hand side and first see the group of the stupas numbering 14, 15, 16 & 17, then pass on to the back row of the niches, turn about and see the votive stupas on this side. As we turn to stupa No. 12 we see a badly preserved Buddha (Pl. 34 c) *in-situ* and understand the style of the last period. Finally we come to the front and see the remaining stupas.

From the architectural point of view there are five stupas numbering 3, 7, 9, and 21 — all belonging to period 1 — showing the same characteristic. Of these V.S. 3 appears to have preserved the original features. It is square in plan, measuring 10 feet each side having Corinthian pillars of schist stone at the four corners and two additional ones in between on each side. While the square base of the stupa is built of diaper masonry and the walls are plastered, the Corinthian pillars, which support the projecting cornice, have Buddha seated within leaves. Above this base there is a circular drum. Under the base there is a plinth 8" high. The cornice projects 4" outside.

V.S. 12 is rectangular in plan, measuring 13'6" by 10'2". The base is 2'5" high. At the four corners there are Corinthian pillars of schist stone and three additional ones on the longer arm while two on the shorter. The masonry is again diaper but plastered. In the later stage (mark the debris 9" thick on the stupa in Pl. 34 d) a niche was erected at the top of this stupa. In order to approach the niche steps, 4 feet wide, were added on the southern side.

V.S. 7 is also a square stupa of similar design. Its plinth measures 5 feet square and is 8 inches high. Above this stands the base to a height of 1'9". It is also built of diaper masonry and is plastered. At the four corners are schist pillars and one additional pillar in the middle of each side. The remains on the top of this stupa suggest that there was also a later period construction over it.

V.S. 9 is another stupa of the same type, is built of diaper masonry and the side walls are plastered. The plinth, which is 7 feet square, is ten inches high, and the base, which is 5'4" each side rises upto 1'10". At the four corners there are schist stone pillars and in between there are two more.

V.S. 21 is the last stupa of this group and is the smallest of them all. Its plinth measures 7'2" each side and is 10 inches high. The base is 5'6" square and rises to a height of 2'8". The corner pillars and two more on each face have Persepolitan capitals (Pl. 33 b) on their top.

In all these five examples the style is uniform, the masonry is diaper and the sides are plastered. They are all topped originally by a round drum although at a later stage some of them were crowned by niches. Internal arrangement suggests that all these stupas were not built at one and the same time. But they surely belong to one stylistic phase.

The votive stupas of period II have already been divided into two groups. We will first take up those of group (a) which cluster round those of the first period.

V.S. 5 and V.S. 2 lie to the south of the main stupa No. V.S. 3. Both these votive stupas are made of diaper masonry and their walls are plastered. They have no pillars at the corners. V.S. 5 is 12 feet 9 inches square and its plinth extends 4 inches further on each side. It is 2'5" high. V.S. 2 is 5'6" on each side with a further extension of 4" for the plinth and the height is 2'8".

V.S. 13 and V.S. 8 lie on the west and east of V.S. 3 respectively. No. 13 is built of ashlar masonry and is 6'10" square. The walls are plastered. V.S. 8 is preserved half. The remaining portion is now missing. Originally it must have been 7' square. The masonry is diaper and the walls are plastered.

V.S. 24 has two periods in its construction. The plinth and the base of the second period still stand. The plinth is 9½ feet square each side and is 8" high. The base is 8'9" square and stands to a height of 2'4". The walls are built of diaper masonry and are plastered. On the top of this a niche, facing the south, was built in the third period. Its walls still stand to a height of 4'3".

Out of the remaining four stupas, falling in group (b), three of them, numbering V.S. 15 and 16 form one unit. They stand on a platform, 5'6" in width still standing in front of V.S. 15 and 16 but it is broken in front of V.S. 14. It is possible that all these three votive stupas belonged to a single family. V.S. 14 and 15 are built of diaper masonry and their walls are plastered. V.S. 16 is built of well-cut ashlar stones and is unplastered. V.S. 14 is 4'10" square at the plinth which is 9" high. The base is 4'4" square and is 1'1" high. V.S. 15 has its plinth 4'9" square and the base 4'1" square and height 1½ feet. V.S. 16 has its plinth 4'9" square and the base 4'1" square. The height is 1'7". V.S. 17 is 3'4" square at the plinth. This stupa must have been built later.

In period III the architectural style completely changed. At this

time there was a greater demand for erecting niches so as to install the images of the Buddha in them. For this purpose new niches were added on the top of the old stupas, as we see in the case of V.S. 12 and V.S. 24. But generally new erections came up to accommodate the large number of the Buddhist divinities. V.S. 27 and V.S. 25 were added extraordinarily on the left hand side, both of which having niches on their base. In front of V.S. 27 a small niche was built, which has still preserved the stucco Buddha (Pl. 34 b), seated in meditation pose. A few odd spaces were filled in by square or rectangular platforms, like P.F. 5, P.F. 6, V.S. 22, V.S. 19, V.S. 20, P.F. 2, P.F. 1, P.F. 3, V.S. 1. All of them are built of diaper masonry and they do not have any niche on their top. Then again there is a series of niches (Pl. 33 a), two of them are couples as V.S. 6 and V.S. 33, and two in V.S. 36. It is possible that these coupled niches were erected by husband and wife in memory of their visits. The remainder are single niches. All these niches are built of diaper masonry and their walls show patches of plaster. The rock surface behind the back row of the niches has been chiselled smooth. The measurements of these niches are given below:

- V.S. 25:- Plinth is 13'5" by 12'9" and height 10". Base 12'9" by 12' and height 2'5".
- V.S. 27:- Plinth is 12'9" by 10'6" and height 8". Base is 12'12" by 10' and height 2'4". Above this the niche is preserved to a height of 3'4".
- V.S. 31:- Plinth is 5' square and height 8". Base is 4'9" square and height 1'4". The niche is 2' above the base.
- V.S. 30:- Plinth is 5' square and height 8". Base is 4'9" square and height 1'9". The niche is 2'8" above the base.
- V.S. 29:- The base is 5½'x4½' and height 2½'. The niche is 4'9" above the base.
- V.S. 28:- The base is 4'10" square and height 2½'. The niche is 4½' above the base.
- V.S. 26:- The base is 4'8"x3'6" and height 2'8". The niche is 6'3" above the base.
- V.S. 23:- The base is 4'10"x4' and height 2'4". The niche above the base is 3' high.
- V.S. 10:- Plinth is 3'10"x3'3" and height 9". Base is 3'9"x3'2" and height 1'10". The niche is 2' above the base.
- V.S. 11:- Base is 5'x3' and height 2'. The niche is only 10" preserved above the base.

- V.S. 18:— The base is 5' square and height 1'10". The niche is 1½' above the base.
- V.S. 6:— and V.S. 33: are both on a single base measuring 15'6" by 5'6" and the height is 2'. The niche of V.S. 6 is preserved to a height of 3'6" above the base and that of V.S. 33 to a height of 5'.
- V.S. 34:— Plinth is 5'10"x5'7" and height 8". Base is 5'7"x5'4" and height 2'3". The niche is 6'6" above the base.
- V.S. 35:— Plinth is 6'x5'10" and height 8". Base is 5'9"x5'4" and height 2'. The niche is 3' high above the base.
- V.S. 36:— The base is 14'4"x5'3" and height upto the cornice is 2'11". Two niches above are 2'6".
- V.S. 37:— Plinth is 6'x5'6" and height 8". Base is 5'10"x5' and height 2'4". The niche is 6' high above the base.
- V.S. 38:— The plinth is 4'x3'9" and height 8". The base is 3'9"x3'8" and height 2'2". The niche is 3' above the base.
- V.S. 32:— The base is 10'9"x3'3" and the height upto the cornice is 2'9". The niche is 4'5" above.

The description of the buildings at Chatpat site now gives an impression of a jumble of stupas, votive stupas, platforms and niches of different periods all standing on a single stone-flagged floor. We have attempted to subdivide the buildings into three classes and shown how they fall in three different periods. The architectural features of the three periods are also different. The three classes are:—

- i) Stupas with schist stone pillars at the base,
- ii) Square votive stupas,
- iii) Niche-type constructions. It is in this last phase that steps were added to V.S. No. 12.

SCULPTURES

If there had been no disturbance by the treasure hunters and all the sculptures had been found in situ, the problem of dating them would have been easier. Although it was possible for us to get the true stratigraphy of the site, it was not possible for us to relate all the sculptures to different layers because of disturbance. As a result the chronology of some of them is not above doubt. However, a few were found in the lowest level near the first phase of the stupa construction. These have been placed in the first period. Others, found in the disturbed condition but on comparative technique, have been relegated to this period.

FIRST PERIOD

None of the sculptures has been found in situ. The way in which the stones are carved, suggests that they were all fixed at the base of the stupas. Long panels were arranged in the middle, each separated from the other by either Persepolitan or Corinthian pillars. These pillars were framed in rectangular panels. At the corners were four faceted pillars with two sides bearing figures in high relief. In between were brackets showing realistic figures occupying the front part — men, animals and atlantis. Good quality of deep blue schist stone has been quarried locally and used for the sculptures. All the rectangular panels show extremely deep cut and very fine workmanship. All the figures are in low relief. The depth of the carving varies from 1½ inch to 2 inches. Such a perfection in art has not been seen at Andandheri at all. The brackets with humans show them realistically in different poses. Similarly the atlantis figures are shown vigorously in different actions. But the animals are in conventional style. These sculptures fall into the following groups: (a) rectangular panels bearing register Nos. 43, 98, 99, 150, 198, 233 and 234 (b) seated atlantis bearing register Nos. 17, 18, 19, 47, 69, 71, 77, 83, 84, 85, 86, 121, 146, 151, 152, 153 and 155; (c) corner pillars with Corinthian capitals bearing register Nos. 8, 24, 63, 138 and 199 and two Persepolitan pillars, Nos. 57, and 94 and five side pillars within rectangular frame, Nos. 4, 46, 56, 62 and 91; (d) Dhyani Buddhas, Nos. 82 and 109 (e) brackets with elephants, Nos. 108, and 113, and lions, Nos. 35, 116 and 117 and (f) brackets showing humans in different poses, Nos. 21, 22, 70, 72, 79, 80, 81, 114, 115, 161, 164, 177 = Total 55.

Group (a)

Pl. 35 a. Nos. 63 (Registered No. 98). This is a long panel measuring 24.3 inches long by 7.5 inches high. The left half, not shown in the photograph, has six devotees. The photographed portion shows, in between two tapering Corinthian pillars having meditating Buddha seated on lotus, a lively scene of caravan merchants. It presents a hooded bullock cart coming from the right but is suddenly stopped. The humped bulls with the yoke on their shoulders are standing erect. A muscular person is applying full force to ground one leg of the bull on the earth. The turbaned cart-driver is surprised and looks at the man in front who is turning towards him. Right in front is a turbaned nobleman on a caparisoned horse but the horse is also stopping. Behind him is another man. On the top of a tree a man is seated. The whole scene compares very well with the right half of fig. No. 67 in Ingholt's *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*. It may

be a part of the same story. The depiction is lively and the character of the individuals has been very well drawn.

Pl. 35 b. No. 64. (Registered No. 99):- This is also a long panel, measuring 26.4 inches by 10.6 inches and showing two scenes separated by a Corinthian pillar having Dhyani-Buddha on high relief seated on half lotus. The right hand scene (not shown in the photograph) shows seated Buddha with five devotees. The left hand shows vividly the Departure Scene with only a few damages of some figures. In the usual fashion the Master rides on a caparisoned horse, the hoofs of which are borne by two Yakshas. It is important to note that the Master, who has not yet become enlightened, is putting on a turban, ornaments and has his upper part of the body bare. Behind him stands Vajrapani. In front of him is a parasol-bearer. Next is Mara standing in a threatening pose. At the far end are Brahma and Indra in devotional attitude. There are two more devotees at the back. All the figures are drawn very lively but the horse is in a conventional style.

Pl. 36 a. No. 65. (Registered No. 234). This is a long panel measuring 18.2 inches by 7.8 inches. The carving is not very well preserved. Much of it has flaked off. The panel again depicts two scenes. The left one shows the well-known story of the offer of the black serpent by the Buddha to Kasyapa who is seated on a seat within his hut. The Buddha is standing, slightly turned to his right, in typical Gandharan monkish dress with both shoulders covered. His right hand holds the black serpent, recognisable by his hood. The bearded Kasyapa has raised up his right hand. Two devotees are in the upper part and another person, much damaged, stands behind the Buddha. The second scene makes the standing Buddha the dominant figure amidst men and women.

Pl. 36 b. No. 66. (Registered No. 233):- This is a long panel measuring 24.8 inches by 8 inches. It also depicts two scenes in between tapering Corinthian pillars having Dhyani Buddha seated on lotus. The stone is not very well preserved. The left scene shows the Buddha, in the Gandharan style of robe, seated in the *Abhaya Mudra* under an arched tree. Indra and Brahma are seated in devotional pose on his either side. A third person is also seated while two more show the upper part of their body. Here the gods entreat the Buddha to preach. The right hand is a dancing and drinking scene. The gentleman with a cup in hand is in a hilarious mood dancing with his one leg up. Behind him is the attendant holding a wine jug and a fruit vase. The lady has turned her face back and is looking to

the attendant on her knees. The lady is also holding a wine jug in hand and some other object in the left hand. She is cunningly bashful while the man is in the happy mood.

Group (b)

Among the numerous figures of the seated Atlantis only the following three are described. All these figures are shown in high relief on a simple and plain rectangular block of stone. They are all seated and have bulky body. As some of them are potbellied, they may be taken for Kubera or yaksha but they are no doubt playing the same role as the classical Atlantis figures do.

Pl. 37 a. No. 67 (Reg. No. 69):- The stone measures 6 inches by 4.8 inches. Here the bulky figure is seated on the ground with his right knee raised up. The upper part of the body is bare but has a girdle at the waist. He has fleshy round face, moustached, open round eyes, bald at the middle of the head but tufts of hair falling on sides. The left hand holds a bow and the right hand raised up as if to hold the arrow which is missing.

Pl. 37 b. No. 68 (Reg. No. 121): The figure who is putting on a *Chhannavira*, is seated cross-legged and holds a shield in the left hand and a ball in the right.

Pl. 37 c. No. 69 (Reg. No. 121): The stone measures 7.3 inches by 4.3 inches. Here the bulky figure seated almost nude with his male organ distinctly visible. His left knee is raised up. He holds a wine goblet in the right hand and pours wine from a leather bag held up in the left hand. The figure is in an intoxicated mood.

Group (c)

In the long panels we have seen several Corinthian pillars employed for separating the different scenes. All these pillars are square in section and tapering as they go up. They generally depict seated Buddha in high relief. We also have some side pillars enclosed in a rectangular frame. Three examples are illustrated here. The fourth example is of a corner pillar.

Pl. 38 a. No. 70 (Reg. No. 24):- This is a corner pillar having Corinthian capital and seated Buddha on two faces. The shaft is square in section and tapering. The Buddha in the Dhyani-Mudra is seated on a well-drawn lotus. Unfortunately the face of the Buddha is damaged.

Pl. 38 b. No. 71 (Reg. No. 4):- The whole frame is 7.8 inches by 3.4 inches. This pillar within frame gives an example of the early type of the standing Buddha in typical Gandharan robe covering both the shoulders and making a V-shaped design in front. The Buddha is in the *Abhaya-mudra*. The halo is shown by a simple orb around his head.

Pl. 38 c. No. 72 (Reg. No. 57):- The stone measures 16.8 inches by 4.6 inches. Here we have a Persepolitan pillar carved on two sides of a square corner pillar. The frame is made up of a reel and bead border. Above the Persepolitan capital two bulls are seated back to back. The Buddha in the *Abhaya* pose is standing on a double blown lotus and wears the typical Gandharan robe having V-shaped design in front. The halo consists of a simple orb around the head.

39 c. No. 75 (Reg. No. 199):- This is 9 inches high and 3.5 inches wide. It is a square corner pillar with Corinthian capital and a base moulding. Only two sides show moulding, the other sides are left plain to be inserted inside the wall. On these two sides two devotees are carved in high relief. Both of them are seated on their folded legs and clasped hands. One of them is a male and the other a female. They are both shown in profile and looking in the direction of the main Buddha friezes on the walls. It is possible that the figures represent husband and wife.

Group (d)

Dhyanī-Buddhas are very common at Chatpat. They are seen as individual figures carved in high relief on the pillars and pilasters. They are also seen in groups of three, five or more in long panels. But this type of depiction became more common in the second and the third periods. There are a few examples where the Dhyanī-Buddha is seated within a cave alone, occupying the front part of a long bracket that must have been inserted inside the wall. Only one example is illustrated.

Pl. 39 a, No. 73 (Reg. No. 82):- The cave stone measures 7.5 inches high and 4.2 inches broad. The facade of the cave assumes the shape of a trefoil arch. Inside the Buddha is seated in the meditating pose in typical Gandharan robe covering both the shoulders. The cross legs are completely hidden inside the robe, one end of which falls right below the joint hands over the feet. Deep grooves represent the folds of the garment. The face is round and fleshy and there is a blissful smile of reassurance at the lips. The eyes, which are broad and round, are half closed. The forehead shows the auspicious mark and the hair is combed back with an addi-

tional protuberance overhead. The halo behind the head is simple.

Group (e)

There are several other brackets used in the stupas. Some of them depict animals like lion and elephant. The art of animal carving is conventional. The style does not show any study from the nature. Only one example is illustrated.

Pl. 39 b, No. 74 (Reg. No. 117):- The bracket is 7 inches long. Its height is 6.2 inches. Only the front half of the lion is shown although a portion of the rear paw is also drawn. The front leg, which is broken at the tip, has an angular bend at the joint. The body of the lion tries to show the muscles and has the mane drawn over the neck. The mouth is wide open but the face is not very well delineated.

Group (f)

There are other long brackets which show humans in different postures and activities. In these cases the art is superior as the delineation reveals a meticulous study of the subject from actual life. The way in which the various actions are caught in stone is really marvellous but it must be noted that the figures are again idealised. Four examples are illustrated.

Pl. 40 a, No. 76 (Reg. No. 22):- The figure is 6.5 inches high and 3 inches wide. Here a drummer is shown in a realistic fashion. The man is putting on the Indian dhoti, has the drum slung over the left shoulder and held at the waist on the left side. Both the hands are up in the act of beating the drum. With the weight of the drum falling on one side, the hip is also tilted that way and the upper part of the body is swung to the other in order to balance the pose. The face is broad, the eyes almond-shaped, the ears have pendants and the hair is combed back and further held by a fore-ornament. Attempt has been made to draw the muscles of the belly. It is a very lively depiction.

Pl. 40 b, No. 77 (Reg. No. 114):- The bracket is 9.1 inches long. The height is 8.2 inches and the width 2.7 inches. The figure represents a fully robed person standing to front with his right knee bent, left hand resting on the stone but the right one is broken. The hair falls behind the back and overhead it is tied with an ornament. The most arresting feature is the pose of the head with a free and imposing facial expression,

very ably represented by the artist.

Pl. 41 a, No. 78 (Reg. No. 21):- This is 7 inches long by 2.9 inches wide. The figure represents a soldier with a long spear in the raised right hand. He is standing to front with his left arm at the waist, the body has an undergarment just above the ankles and a long Kushana tunic having double patterns — a chequer pattern above the girdle of the belt and a square pattern below it. The face is broad and of Central Asian type with drooping moustache and the head has a low turban. He appears to be standing on sentry duty.

Pl. 41 b, No. 79 (Reg. No. 70):- The bracket is 9.5 inches long and its height is 6.5 inches. The figure is again another soldier at arms but in this case the spear, the upper part of which is broken, is being held at the left hand. The right hand which rested at the waist is broken. The man is putting on the same type of tunic as No. 76 but in the present case the lower garment is a short above the knee. He is also putting on long boots. The head, which is covered by a twisted hair falling behind and is further protected by a halo at the rear, is of a different type. The face is longish with a well-trimmed moustache, the left eye fully open and the right half-closed, and gives the impression of a resolute guard on duty.

Second Period

In the second period the lavishness in decorating the stupas increased fast. There was a great demand for panel decoration. The life of the Buddha had the greatest attraction. As this period most probably coincided with the decline of the Great Kushanas, no new incentive from outside motivated the production of the art. There was, no doubt, some pressure from the Sassanians, but except for some examples of fire worship (not represented here), no new theme appears to have been introduced. As a result the art of the period shows an inward search for beauty. This looking within and seeking for new forms do not seem to have achieved the excellence that we saw in the first period. Many of the old motifs and themes continued. The seated Buddha on the Corinthian pillar makes a great contrast with the similar figure of period I. The scenes of Buddha's life are repeated again and again on the square base of the stupa and also on the lower portion of the drum. Several examples of the small square base, the domical drum and other architectural pieces have been found. Though there is grace in art and somewhat roundish features predominate, still we do not get any idea of originality or a sense of freedom. The reliefs are not so deep as in the first period. Little at-

tempt is made to go into the detail of the individual characters. All efforts are made to create an effect of beauty in the totality of the scene or of the figures. They all join together to give an impression of effective representation. However there is a definite deterioration of the art from the point of view of the technical achievement. It is in this period that we get for the first time tall standing figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva. It is possible that such figures also existed in the first period but no definite example was obtained in our excavation. The face in the examples found is varied. It is youthful, fleshy and verging on roundish features. The halo is simple or sometimes marginal decorations are found, or sometimes large lotus leaves decorate the halo. The base has usually simple floral pattern or geometric design. The figure stands to front, his weight being balanced on both legs. These sculptures will be discussed under group (a). They number 51, 74, 178, 213 and 237. Group (b) is the largest among the lot. These are rectangular or circular panels depicting the life of the Buddha or Bodhisattva and several other scenes. The style is narrative. A single event in the story is selected and is represented on stone. All these are carved in low relief. Each scene is separated from the other by the intervening Corinthian or Persepolitan pillars. They number 32, 44, 59, 65, 72, 73, 74, 90, 124, 127, 129, 130, 130a, 132, 133, 134, 137, 139, 168, 174, 180, 185, 193, 197, 201, 204, 221, 226, 235 and 240.

Group (c) includes square *harmika*, circular panels (already given under (a) above, domical drums etc. These are invariably decorated with Buddhist themes. Only one definite example is registered number 95. Group (d) has a number of winged Atlas Nos. 119, 141, 142, 143, 145, 154 and 183. At the back of these stones Kharosthi letters are engraved in a clear developed Kushana style. No. 141 has the letter *Sha* with its top umbrella making a semicircle No. 142 has also the same letter but the umbrella is angular in shape. No. 143 has the letter *Sa*. No. 145 has the letter *Ra*. No. 154 has the letter *La*. Group (e) includes a number of brackets with figures carved in front; No. 110, 161, 173. Group (f) includes garland bearers, numbering 75, 76 and 87. Total— 49.

Group (a)

This group includes examples which were reused in the later period.

Pl. 42a, No. 80 (Reg. No. 213):- It is made of blue schist stone, measuring 19.4 inches by 6 inches. The stone was found near the west wall of

V.S. 31 and obviously it had fallen down from the niche of this late stupa. It is a case of the re-use of the older material. The Buddha stands on a pedestal, which is carved with two squares and a zigzag line above at the cornice. The diagonals of the squares are joined and a triangle is scooped in each small space. The Buddha stands bare feet with the nails of the toes clearly drawn. The left knee is slightly marked below the garment. He puts on a long monkish robe in the Gandhara style covering both the shoulders. The under-garment has its folds vertically drawn and ends above the ankles in a loose easy fall. The upper garment has its folds in a sweep from left to right until at the neck the twisted folds make a V-shape. The left hand is extended down and holds the hem of the garment. The right hand pops out of the upper garment and is held up in the *Abhaya-mudra*. The youthful face is roundish with straight nose, blessedness at the lips, half-closed round eyes, auspicious mark at the forehead, distended ears, and the hair combed back in wavy curls over and around the *Ushnisha*. The halo is absolutely simple.

Pl. 42 b. No. 81 (Reg. No. 237):- This is made of greyish schist stone, measuring 35 inches high. It was found in the niche of V.S. 29, which actually belongs to the third period. But it is a case of the re-use of the older material. The Buddha stands to front on a pedestal having Corinthian pillar on the sides and a honeysuckle design in front. The cornice above it has a rope pattern. He is bare footed and stands erect with only the left knee slightly pressing the garment. The undergarment falls in vertical pleats with almost straight line at the end. The upper garment covers both the shoulders and the raised pleats of the folds swing from left to right in the order reverse from the usual manner of putting it on. The left hand, which extends down and holds the hem of the garment, is slightly bent. The right hand, which was in the *Abhaya Mudra*, is broken. The youthful fleshy face is slightly longish and has straight nose, blessed lips, half-closed round eyes, auspicious mark on the forehead, distended ears, and hair combed back over and around the *Ushnisha*. The halo has a marginal decoration of wavy lines.

Pl. 43 a No. 82. (Reg. No. 178):- This is made of blue schist stone measuring 20 inches by 7 inches. It was found near V.S. No. 12 but not attached to it. The Buddha stands on a pedestal which shows a devotee with folded hands looking up at the main figure. It is in a bad state of preservation with both the hands broken, the garment partly damaged and the halo also broken on the right side. The garments are worn in the same style as No. 80 above. But the face makes a great contrast. The broad squarish face narrows down towards the chin. The hair, as in the earlier

examples, is combed back over and around the *Ushnisha*.

Pl. 43 b. No. 83 (Reg. No. 74):- This is also made of blue schist stone measuring 23 inches by 8 inches. It was found near the south wall of V.S. 13. It is the robust figure of Maitreya standing on a pedestal carved with leafy design. Unfortunately the left hand and most of the halo are broken. The figure puts on a *chapel* and is wearing the usual ornaments. The under-garment ends in classical pleats and the upper garment is swung below the right arm and over the left shoulder in such a fashion that the folds incline towards his right. The belly is covered, only the chest above the necklace is bare. He holds a water vessel in the extended left hand. The face is squarish with eyes three-fourth open, auspicious mark on the forehead. The hair is combed up and tied with ornament decorated with beads of pearl. The preserved portion of the halo shows the fully blown lotus carved upon it.

Group (b)

In this group we include the life stories of the Buddha, the jataka stories and other related themes about the Bodhisattvas, all illustrated in rectangular panels to be fixed at the base of the stupa. Some of the stones are curved for use at the drum of the stupa. It has not been possible to illustrate all the themes. Selected examples, which are better preserved, are given below.

Pl. 44a, No. 84 (Reg. No. 90):- It is made of deep blue schist measuring 18 inches long by 6 inches high. It was found near the north-east corner of V.S. 10. This panel depicts two successive scenes in the life of the Buddha, the scenes being separated from each other by a tapering Corinthian pillar having seated *Dhyani-Buddha* in high relief. Unfortunately the stone is much corroded and damaged. Only the right hand pillar is well preserved. It shows the Buddha with halo around the head, seated on a full blown lotus, but in this case the depiction of the lotus is not as vivid as in the examples of the first period. The themes represent the Palace scene on the right and the Departure scene on the left. In the palace scene Yasodhara is fast asleep with her ornamented head on her left hand, itself resting on a pillow. The prince is in his usual princely dress and shaded by an umbrella over-head, which is held by two persons. One leg of the prince is on the stool and the other on the ground suggesting the moment of leaving the bed. But before leaving he holds his right hand up to a man who is in the act of presenting (probably) flowers. It may be that he is the charioteer Chhandaka. The second scene represents the

Master riding on the horse Kanthaka, the hoofs of which are held by the Yaksha. Vajrapani is standing behind him while an umbrella is overhead. In front of him stands Mara as if to block his way.

Pl. 44 b, No. 85 (Reg. No. 235):- This is made of dark grey schist stone, measuring 18.5 inches long by 6 inches high. It was found inside the niche of V.S. 24, which belongs to the second period. It is a long panel depicting two scenes, separated by a Corinthian pillar having *Dhyani-Buddha* seated on a full-blown lotus in the style of this period. The right hand scene depicts the theme of Indra's visit to the Indrasala cave. Here the Buddha is seated in the *Dhyani-mudra* inside the cave on a seat, somewhat turned to his left. The facade of the cave shows the rocky surface. The approach is from the left side. In front is the harpist. Then come Indra and Brahma, both having their hands clasped. The left hand scene depicts the *Maha-parinivvana* of the Buddha. The dead body of the Master is lying prostrate on the bed in the usual robe. Vajrapani is seated on his knees at the head of the cot while a disciple rests his head at the feet in mourning. There is a second mourner seated back to the front. Above are other mourners with hands stretched upwards.

Pl. 45 a, No. 86. (Reg. No. 204):- It is in blue schist stone measuring 14.3 inches by 6 inches. It was found in between V.S. 24 and V.S. 19. The panel depicts two scenes separated by a Corinthian pillar with Buddha seated in the *Dhyani-mudra* on a full blown lotus. The right hand scene depicts the acceptance by the Buddha of an offering. Here the Buddha is standing slightly turned to his left and facing the two naked children who are making the offering. The Buddha, who is putting on the typical Gandharan robe covering both the shoulders and having a large halo behind his head, is receiving the offer in a bowl from two nude children who are standing probably beside their mother with clasped hands. The mother is fully robed and has an ornamental head-gear. The child in front, who is actually in the act of offering, has bent his knees while the second is standing erect with folded hands. The hair style of the two children is different. Behind the Buddha Vajrapani is standing in his usual western robe with his right hand at the waist and left knee bent forward. Another old man, probably the father is between the Buddha and Vajrapani. The second scene on the left represents the story of the taming of the elephant. The Buddha's wicked cousin Devadatta sent out from within the fortress of the city a mad elephant to kill him. Here the elephant is coming out of the gate and the Buddha, whose figure is taller than that of the elephant, has placed his right hand on its head. Behind him stands Vajrapani in a restful mood with his right leg across the left.

A third person behind him is also in a resting attitude. Two other monks are standing behind.

Pl. 45 b. No. 87 (Reg. No. 134):- This is made of blue schist stone measuring 18 inches by 5.8 inches and was found in the same place as No. 86. This is a long circular panel showing three scenes. Only the middle scene is illustrated here. The end ones are partly broken. Each scene is separated by a Persepolitan pillar with bulls back to back on the capital. The first scene (not photographed) shows two persons and a child in the attitude of surprise with his finger in the mouth. The third scene has a male and a female devotee, the first one with an offering in hand. The middle scene represents the story of the taming of the mad elephant. Here the Buddha is of the same height as the elephant, which is coming out of the gate. The Buddha is touching the forehead of the elephant with his right hand. Vajrapani is looking behind at the monk who is holding something in the beggar's bowl in his left hand. Over the gate probably a bird is seated.

Pl. 46 a. No. 88 (Reg. No. 127):- This is made of blue schist stone measuring 16 inches by 5.8 inches and probably belongs to the same stupa as No. 87 above. This is also a long circular panel showing two scenes separated by a Persepolitan pillar. The first scene (not photographed) shows Buddha standing in *Abhaya-mudra* with his companion Vajrapani on the left and a devotee on the right. The Persepolitan pillar on the left side of the photograph shows winged horses back to back. The scene proper is a vivid representation of an offering made by two little nude children, standing under a tree, to the Buddha, who is receiving with a sense of blessed satisfaction. Behind him is Vajrapani in the pose of walking. He is putting on typical Indian dress. Next stands a monk with a begging bowl in left hand.

P. 46 b. No. 89 (Reg. No. 130):- This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 15.9 inches by 5.7 inches. It was found in between V.S. 12 and V.S. 20. It is also a long circular panel showing two scenes, the one described here and the other below under No. 90. The two scenes are separated by a Corinthian pillar, tapering and slender, and has a vertical slit in the middle instead of the usual Dhyan Buddha. The scene is the nursling of the dead woman (for detail see Ingholt, *Gandharan Art of Pakistan* P. 85 fig. 121). Here the figures are fewer than given in the illustration of Ingholt. The tomb is also of a different type and above the rectangular opening there is a square window. Half of the body of the woman, whose hair is scattering away, is outside the tomb. Only her one breast is visible.

In this example the child is sitting cross-legged under a tree and keeping his right hand on the body of the mother. Behind him stands the Buddha in the *Abhaya mudra*. He is followed by Vajrapani in the western robe. Next is a tree very artistically depicted with its trunk bent.

P1. 47 a. No. 90 (Reg. No. 130 a):- This is the second scene in the above stone, representing the offering of the honey by the monkeys. It is similar to the top scene in fig. 164 of Ingholt but the latter example is broken. In the present example the Buddha is seated in the *Abhaya-mudra* with a bowl in his left hand held in the lap. All the monkeys are shown standing almost erect on two legs. One monkey approaches from the right and offers a bowl of honey. The second one on the left has raised his left leg and clasped his hands above the head. The third monkey is returning with the bowl in hand.

P1. 47 b. No. 91 (Reg. No. 44):- It is also made of blue schist stone measuring 13.3 inches by 6.7 inches and is a part of a circular panel found in between V.S. 3 and V.S. 5. On the left of the panel is a Persepolitan pillar but no animals on its capital. The scene seems to represent the preparations by the five disciples of the Buddha for the preaching of the First Sermon and may be compared with the Ingholt's No. 74 — the right hand fragment. Here the Buddha in typical Gandharan robe stands in the middle with his right hand broken and talking to one of the five disciples with folded hands. Behind him another disciple holds probably a seat. Three other disciples range themselves in order. It is pertinent to note that these disciple monks are putting on the robe in the Indian style leaving the shoulder bare. Behind the Buddha is Vajrapani in Indian dhoti. His right hand pops out of the upper garment and holds the thunderbolt. At the end is a nobleman with clasped hands.

P1. 48 a. No. 92 (Reg. No. 132). It is also made of blue schist stone and was found near V.S. 22. It is a broken panel, measuring 10 inches by 9.5 inches. The scene represents the story of the *Dipankara Jataka*. On the right the tall figure of the Buddha in the typical Gandharan robe stands in *Abhaya-mudra* (but the right hand is broken). His feet are resting on the hair of Sumati who has spread out his hair while himself bending down to the earth. On the left there is an earlier part of the story, in which Sumati is purchasing the flowers from the girl who is just coming out of the gate. Over the gate's frame are two broken figures. Sumati's round face is very well drawn and his hair is combed back and falling behind in locks. He is putting on only a short and holding a water flask in his left hand. The girl is dressed in the Indian Sari and upper bodice and has a very stylish hair-do. Her pose of standing is still more remarkable exhibi-

ting a smile of satisfaction. Her left arm is at the waist and the right holds flowers.

P1. 48 b. No. 93 (Reg. No. 221):- This is made of blue schist stone measuring 12 inches by 8.4 inches. The stone is partly broken. It was found near V.S. 21. The scene is unique in so far as it relates to a story centred round Maitreya, who is seated in the middle in arm-chair holding the usual flask in the left hand. He is seated cross-legged in the usual dress and ornaments of a Bodhisattva. The upper shawl leaves the whole body bare except the left shoulder and falls in a loop in front. The right hand, which is broken, was in *Abhaya-mudra*. The face of Maitreya has typically Mongolian features and he wears an ornamental head-gear. Behind the chair a man and a woman hold torches. On the left and right of the chair noblemen are sitting as if in the act of listening. At the top corners are further human figures with clasped hands. It is difficult to say what story the scene represents. The whole treatment is frontal and the figures have been arranged symmetrically. The carving is quite deep.

Group (c)

In this group fall several architectural pieces of the stupas. These pieces were invariably engraved with figures representing scenes from the Buddhist stories or from every day life. The figures are carved in low relief. They occupy the base, the lower part of the drum and the *harmika* of the stupas. Only one example is illustrated.

P1. 49 a, No. 94 (Reg. No. 95):- This is of blue schist stone measuring 9.5 inches by 6 inches. It was found near the east wall of V.S. 4. It is a beautiful *harmika* with Corinthian pillars at the four corners. These pillars have only a vertical cavity in the middle of the shaft instead of the *Dhyani Buddha*. They support a table, which is carved with a series of leaves at the cornice. Between the pillars the figures are carved on all the four sides. Three of them depict Maitreya seated in *Abhaya-mudra* attended by two standing devotees, a male and a female. The fourth side has the Buddha in *Dhyani-mudra* with an attendant devotee. Maitreya is holding a water flask in his left hand. The two devotees are putting on the Indian dhoti.

Group (d)

P1. 49 b, No. 95 (Reg. No. 141) This is also of blue schist stone measuring 8 inches by 6.8 inches. It was found on the top of V.S. 22. It is one of the many examples of winged Atlas found in the excavation. They are all iden-

tical. Atlantis is seated on a seat with his bent right leg on the floor but the left leg is raised up and folded. The right hand is resting by the side of the right knee and the left on the knee. The whole body is tilted to the left. The western touch is clearly visible in the delineation of the different parts of the body.

Group (e)

In the first period we have seen brackets of this type with sculptural figures in front. Such brackets are seen in all the periods. Two examples are illustrated.

P1. 50 a, No. 96 (Reg. 161) This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 7 inches by 7 inches. It was found near V.S. 19. In front of the bracket are seen two musicians — a male and a female. The male is clapping with his hands and the female is playing on a *rabab*. Both are putting on short tunics. Unfortunately the figures are damaged. But the depiction is very interesting.

P1. 50 b, No. 97 (Reg. No. 110) This is also made of blue schist stone. The bracket measures 8.5 inches and its height is 4.6 inches. It was also found near V.S. 19. The bracket has a standing elephant to front. The tusks of the elephant are broken. The trunk is down between the two front legs. On the body there are circular marks. The depiction is very simple and straight forward.

Group (f)

P1. 50 c, No. 98 (Reg. No. 75) This is a broken blue schist stone measuring 30 inches by 7 inches and found near V.S. 2. This is one of the several examples depicting garland bearers. A thick conventional garland is carried by four persons. The garland moves sinuously and has legs at the ends. The whole arrangement is symmetrical. The decoration on the garland also varies and follows a symmetrical pattern. The end part of the curve shows fish scales as also the central curve. The side curves are divided into several zones by crossed lines, between them is a diagonal pattern. From the lower end of these curves a group of three fruits hang down. The garland bearers are all robed in a long robe and they are grouped in twos — the figures in the left hand group look at each other and put on the same kind of dress. Similarly the figures on the right look at each other and hold a fruit in their hands. At the two corners two birds are sitting on the garland and in between the curves three winged figures stand. The middle one is holding a small garland. The left one has a

water-skin on the shoulder and a cup in hand. The right one has his hands popping out of the dress at the chest. This is a complete re-orientation of the classical garland-bearer motif.

Third Period

In this period we have included all the sculptures found in layer (I), in the niches of the last period and all those which were obtained on the surface or in the disturbed places. This classification is made mainly on the principle of excavation but it must be borne in mind that there is a great possibility of some of them surviving from an earlier period. Either some of them were reused in the later period, as has been the practice or they were found in such a disturbed condition that it was impossible for the excavator to relegate them to earlier periods. This is the main reason why there is such a large number of sculptures in this section. However the style of this period is very well defined. Two sculptures were found in situ and they bring out the general features of the style. Pl. 34 a. No. 59 shows in a small niche, a stucco figure of the seated Buddha in *Dhyani-mudra*. It is a product of mass manufacture by the help of a mould. At the back of the figure a rough stone, which is fixed to the niche, serves as a holder. On to it is attached the moulded figure. The head along with the halo was made separate from the body and at the neck joint the skin fold intelligently hides any sign of the joint likely to be seen. In this figure the crossed legs are concealed underneath the garment. The upper garment, which covers both the shoulders shows a series of curved ridges for the fold. The face is made extremely smooth and fine with half-closed eyes. The hair-do is rather very conventional. The whole arrangement is too mechanical with a series of vertical lines and dots in between. The top knot is also very mechanical. But the way in which the top knot shows itself suggests that it is a copy of the ridged style seen in Gandhara sculpture (compare Ingholt *Gandharan Art in Pakistan* Nos. 206 and 215). This is one of the style in stucco. Other styles may be seen on Pl. 30. We have another in-situ figure, Pl. 34 c, No. 61. This is of schist stone but it is badly decayed and its head is missing. It represents seated Buddha in preaching pose. The upper garment is in the Indian style, leaving the right shoulder bare. As the traces of the garment clearly show, the folds are depicted with paired parallel lines (see Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, pp. 37-40). This does not mean that the garments in this period all show paired parallel lines. Later we will see all sorts of dresses in this period. We are also not sure whether this style of depicting the folds started in this period or before. In Charsadda this is seen in an earlier period (see *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II Pl. XXI No. 1). However, the main

characteristic is evident. The facial expression shows a definite tendency towards local features although the earlier facial type is not completely given up. The garments have stiff ridged lines for the folds. The hair style also varies and the old style of combing back now lost favour. Several new conventions came into vogue. The halo is very rarely simple and undecorated. Generally it has leafy marginal decoration arranged in a fashion so as to give the appearance of a rayed halo (see Pl. 53 a. No. 103). One important point to note is the depiction of the Buddha in the preaching pose. Here the very principle of holding the two palms in front of the chest is such that it is difficult to have them so represented when the upper garment covers both the shoulders. We have a few examples of this type (see Ingholt No. 256 and No. 252). But such examples are rare. In this usually the Buddha puts on the upper garment in the Indian style of leaving the right shoulder bare. In the case of the Bodhisattvas the Indian style of the upper garment is very common as in pls. 54 a and 54 b. But this long curved sweep leaving the whole of the upper body bare is not seen in period II. There, as seen in pl. 34 b. No. 83 the upper body is covered more than half. On the other hand the lower garment ends in western classical pleats. The narrative style which recounts the stories of the Buddha, follows the old practice but in these examples the low relief is rather very shallow. The Corinthian pillars, which divide the scenes, do not have seated Buddha carved upon them. Sometimes we have scenes in two registers, giving different stories in the two rows. The most remarkable is the use of green phyllite stone for the sculpture as seen in pl. 53 a. No. 103. This is the one example in this stone found in Chatpat suggesting that either this stone was not popular here or that the last period of Chatpat is slightly earlier than the sculptures from Ramora. Another comparison with Ramora is provided by the inner arch decoration in pl. 56 b. No. 110. Here the wavy creeper pattern has a close resemblance with the similar motif from Ramora. The winged Atlas has also very simple type of wings carved in high relief (pl. 62 a and b). A new development is seen in the production of the stiff Dhyani — Buddhas (Pl. 61 b. No. 120). In the case of the seated Buddhas the upper garment falls in a semi-circular curve of folds over the legs right in front. This type of depicting the folds became common from this period onward. The last point to be noted is regarding the appearance of a pose for Padmapani (pl. 56 a), sitting on a high seat with one leg up on the seat and the other down on the floor. Generally the head is resting on the right hand. Group (a) includes the sculptures which depict standing or sitting Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. The need of this type of sculptures was great in this period as the construction of the niches demanded them for installation. They bear the register numbers 10, 26, 28, 52, 54, 55, 96, 101,

111, 179, 184, 194, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 162, 176, 181, 218, 219, 220, 231, 232, 236, 239, 245, 248 and 249. Group (b) includes rectangular or circular panels fixed at the base of the stupa or at the drum. Their number is the largest. They are 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 34, 40, 41, 45, 49, 50, 53, 58, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 93, 96, 97, 101, 109, 118, 123, 125, 126, 128, 135, 136, 160, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 186, 188, 189, 190, 195, 196, 200, 208, 209, 218, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230, 241, 245, 246, and 248. Group (c) includes square harmika, spherical drum and other sundries, numbering 48, 104, 105, 106, 107. Group (d) has a number of winged Atlas numbering 88, 102, 103, 144, 147, 148, 149, 153, 156, 222, 223 and 247. Group (e) includes a number of brackets, pillars, capitals and arches numbering 30, 36, 78, 112, 120, 122, 140, 157, 158, 159, 163, 175, 182, 187, 191, 192, 202, 203, 205. Group (f) includes garland bearers numbering 92 and 210. Group (g) has four examples of flowers numbering 37, 38, 39 and 227, = Total 141. A few broken examples have been omitted.

GROUP (a)

Pl. 51 a. No. 99 (Reg. No. 96) — This is made of blue schist stone measuring 31.5 inches by 9.6 inches. It was found near V.S. 25. It is a tall Buddha standing on a seat, which bears a leafy branch carved in its front and placed horizontally. The Buddha is standing to front with his weight falling more on his right leg, the left leg being slightly bent at the knee, just noticeable behind the garment. The feet are bare. The fingers of the right foot are broken off. And so is broken the right hand. The left hand, which extends down, holds the hem of the garment. The face is squarish with the bulging cheek flesh and the half-closed eyes slightly elongated. The ears are distended. The hair is arranged in a series of stair-like ridges and the *Ushnish* is also of the ridged type. The auspicious mark is seen on the forehead. The halo, which is partly damaged, has a marginal leafy decoration, giving the semblance of a rayed sun. The figure is a typical representative of this period.

Pl. 51 b. No. 100 (Reg. No. 215). It is made of blue schist stone, measuring 19. inches by 6 inches, and was found near the west wall of V.S. 31. The standing figure of the Buddha has its lower part from the knee downward broken. The right hand whose finger tips are slightly broken, is raised up in *Abhaya-mudra* while the left hand, which extends down and has the forefinger singled out, holds the hem of the garment. The upper robe, which is worn in the Gandharan style covering both the shoulders, shows the folds in sparse ridges and at the neck triple folds are seen making almost a

circle around it. The face is trapezoidal in cut, having a subdued cheek flesh. The eyes are half-closed and the ears are distented. The auspicious mark at the forehead is indicated by a small circular incision. The hair has a single row of ridges right in front but behind it is combed back. The *Ushnisha*, which is tied with a string, is of a ridged type. The halo is slightly ovalish in shape having a marginal leaf decoration. In this example we see another variety of the facial features of the Buddha.

Pl. 52 a. No. 101 (Reg. No. 179) — This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 19 inches by 7.7 inches and was found near V.S. 19. The standing figure of the Buddha is badly damaged with its halo half broken, both the hands missing and the lower part below the waist is gone. The upper garment and the halo in this case are exactly of the same type as is seen in No. 100 above. Even the facial feature is of the same type. But the hair style is different. In the present example the hair below the *Ushnisha* is arranged in two rows having a series of brackets which close right at the centre. The *Ushnisha*, which is tied with a string, has the hair combed back. This type of hair style is also common in this period.

Pl. 52 b. No. 102. (Reg. No. 245) — It is made of light grey schist mixed with mica bits, measuring 20 inches by 7.5 inches. It was found near the west wall of V.S. 25. This figure is also badly damaged with the hands, sides and the lower part completely broken off. The upper garment and the halo are of the same type as is seen in No. 101 above. The facial type and the hair-do are also of the same variety. It seems that both these examples must have been made by the same hand.

Pl. 53 a. No. 103 (Reg. No. 111) — This is made of greenish phyllite stone measuring 8.2 inches by 6 inches and was found near the west wall of V.S. 19. It is a seated figure of the Buddha. The Master is seated on a coiled seat, the front middle part of which shows the cover, divided by a vertical at the centre into two parts falling in triple curved folds. The Buddha is seated cross-legged. The feet are completely hidden behind the garment. The upper robe which covers both the shoulders and makes a circle round the neck and has V-shaped ridges below it upto the navel, falls in smooth semi-circular curves right over the legs and touches the seat. This type of semi-circular folds, falling over the seat, became common in the later period and is seen in almost all the seated figures. The right hand, whose finger tips are broken, is held up in *Abhaya-mudra*, and the left hand holds the hem of the garment at the thigh. The face is of a distinctive variety with rhomboid features having fleshy cheeks, half closed eyes of almond shape, distented ears. The hair-do is also unusual. In the middle it is slightly

combed back and then it is taken sideways while the *Ushnisha* has it in the vertical fashion as the modern Sikhs have it below the turban. The halo behind the head has a series of marginal grooves suggesting rayed sun. With the change of the material the style makes a new departure.

Pl. 53 b. No. 104 (Reg. No. 218) — This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 18.5 inches by 10.5 inches. It was found near the southern wall of V.S. 36. This seated figure of the Buddha is badly damaged with his halo and both the hands broken. He is seated on a seat which is plain in front and shows just the matted grass underneath. The upper garment, which covers both the shoulders and makes a rough triangle at the neck falls in semi-circular curves over the legs. The facial feature is of the same type as is seen in No. 102 above. The hair is also arranged in the same fashion but in this example there are five rows of brackets arranged beautifully to end in the conical top of the *Ushnisha*. The marginal leaf decoration of the halo now becomes stylised and takes the form of a series of triangles. This form of halo is also very common in this period.

Pl. 54 a. No. 105 (Reg. No. 216) — This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 25.5 inches by 8.2 inches. It was found near V.S. 27. This is a tall standing figure of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha. He is standing on a bench supported by two Corinthian pillars. In between two worshippers are sitting on either side of a bowl on a pedestal. This fashion of the worship of the Buddha's bowl was very common in this period. The Bodhisattva is putting on the local variety of *Chapal* at the feet, which has roundel at the top of the strap. He is wearing the Indian *dhoti*, which is tied at the waist with a girdle and which falls in front into three vertical folds, each one of them has its ends twisted into western classical pleats. The upper garment covers the back, the left shoulder and the left arm but leaves the right shoulder bare and falls in a great sweep underneath the girdle in such a fashion that the whole of the upper body is freely visible. He is heavily ornamented. Round the neck there is a necklet (*Hansli*), then there is a torque with an amulet in the middle. A garland goes round the left shoulder and over the right arm with a round pendant hanging below the amulet. And finally there is a series of amulets strung together across the left shoulder and under the right arm pit. At the arms there are armlets. The ears have pedants. The hands are broken. The face shows high cheek bones and floppy flesh, well-trimmed moustache and half-closed eyes. The hair arranged in two tiers, over which tops the broad *Ushnisha* decorated with pearls and tied with a beaded string. The *Ushinsha* is taller than the halo at the back of the head which has a double row of marginal decoration. The usual leaf design is at the end and separated from it by a line is another row of

beads. The figure has all the features of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha.

Pl. 54 b. No. 106 (Reg. No. 212) — This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 29.5 inches by 10.5 inches and was found near the south wall of V.S. 36. This is a beautiful tall standing figure of Maitreya but the hands and the halo are broken. He is standing on a lotus seat whose front is divided into three squares by vertical lines, each square having a four-petalled flower. At the feet are the usual chapals and the Indian *dhoti*, worn by the figure, ends in realistic pleats on the lower side. The upper garment is worn in the same style as No. 105 above. The upper part of the body, which is bare and shows the breast nipples, is tapering downward. There are four usual ornaments around the neck. The face is longish and has a smooth fleshy cheek with half-closed eyes, protruding *Urna* at the forehead. The hair is beautifully tied. Tufts of hair fall over the shoulders and brought down by combing backward overhead. An ornamented ribbon is tied at the head. And further two tufts of hair are tied at the top in a knot style that leaves two loops hanging in front. This type of hair style is common only in the figure of Maitreya.

Pl. 55 a. No. 107 (Reg. No. 217) — This is made of blue schist stone measuring 13.2 inches by 8.2 inches, and was found near the north wall of V.S. 18. This is a seated figure of Maitreya in *Abhaya-mudra*. The seat, which is partly broken, has the same frontal decoration as No. 103 above, although in this case the design is more angular. In front of the seat a stool is kept. The back of the seat is also decorated with floral patterns. The upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare, shows a series of ridged folds descending from the left shoulder over the right leg. Another end of the garment goes underneath the left arm pit and falls over the left leg showing the classical pleats. He is holding the water flask in the left hand, whose two fingers, the little finger and the forefinger, are extended. At the neck, ears and arms the usual ornaments are seen. The face has its forehead brought forward and chin pulled in and gives the impression of smallish size. Well-trimmed moustache, half-closed eyes, and embossed *urna* at the forehead are remarkably well depicted. The hair is parted at the middle and combed sideways. A few tufts are falling on the sides and some are coiled round over-head and are further tied with a string of pearls. Behind the head is the halo bearing the same marginal triangular design as seen in No. 104 above.

Pl. 55 b. No. 108 (Reg. No. 214):— This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 11.5 inches by 8.4 inches, and was found near the west wall of V.S. 31. This is a unique figure of the seated Maitreya but the stone is badly de-

cayed. The seat underneath is of the same type as is seen in No. 104 above but in the present example it is very poorly drawn. The seated figure is rather very burly and stunted. He holds a water flask in the left hand. The folds of the upper garment fall in semi-circular curves right in front over the legs. The face is oval with half-closed round eyes, trimmed moustache, circular incision on the forehead for the auspicious mark and roundel at the ears. The hair shows a series of curls in an arch-like fashion around the face and overhead a few tufts are tied possibly in the same fashion as is seen in No. 106 above. The halo behind the head is very simple with only a marginal line. The facial features are of the Central Asian type.

Pl. 56 a. No. 109 (Reg. No. 249): This is made of bluish schist stone with mica particles seen here and there. It was found near the steps when the top debris was being removed. This is a figure of Padmapani seated on a high seat decorated with a frieze of floral designs on its lower side. The left leg is placed on a stool while the right is pulled up and placed on the seat. He is bare-footed and puts on the Indian *dhoti*. The upper garment falls in a semi-circular curve from the left shoulder over the lap. The other end of the garment goes under the left arm pit and twisted over the left arm and let loose on the left side. The left hand is holding the lotus bud by its stalk and the right is folded and is raised up to the shoulder and is supporting the head, which is slightly tilted to his right. The body and the hands are slenderly shaped. Only two ornaments — a necklet and a torque — are seen at the chest. At the ears are pendants. The face is slim and long and the eyes are half-closed. On the head there is a turban having a string of pearls. This type of Padmapani is seen in large number at this period in this region. For No. 110 see under group (c).

GROUP (b)

Pl. 57 a. No. 111 (Reg. No. 230): This is a long circular panel of blue schist stone, measuring 23 inches by 6 inches, and was found near V.S. 21. It is divided into two registers, the lower one showing four scenes from the life of the Buddha, and the upper one showing a series of human couples in between Corinthian round pillars. The Central divide has a railing design in the middle, bricks laid on ends at either side and in between are hanging curtains. The human couples at the top register have only their busts depicted. The ladies have variety of hair styles. In the lower register the scenes start from the right-hand side. The first depicts the dream of Maya. The queen mother is lying on cot sideways while at each end of her bed an armed lady-guard is standing. A small elephant over the sleeping body appears to descend into the mother's womb — a symbol representing

pregnancy. The next scene represents the crowned king seated in the middle and talking to the bearded astrologer Asita on the left. He is explaining with his raised hand the meaning of the dream. In between them is an attendant. The queen is seated on the right. She is being held by another woman. The third scene represents the birth of the Buddha. The mother is standing under the *Sala* tree in Lumbini garden being supported by his sister Mahaprajapati. From mother's side the child is emerging. He is being received by the god Indra. Behind him is another god who has put his finger into the mouth in astonishment. A third woman is standing on the right side. The fourth scene represents the return of the queen along with the child to the capital city Kapilavastu. Here two horsemen riding on horses are leading an elephant on which the palanquin is kept. Each scene is separated from the other by a Corinthian round column enclosed within a frame. The stories are usual and the carving is not very deep. There are many chips broken away from the stone.

Pl. 57 b. No. 112 (Reg. No. 125): This is a long panel made of blue schist stone, measuring 13.7 inches by 4.8 inches. It was found in a disturbed condition near the south wall of V.S. 19 and hence has been doubtfully relegated to this period. There are two scenes separated by a square Corinthian pillar. Its front has a vertical cavity in place of the seated Buddha and this feature supports our relegating it to this period. But the engraving on the whole is very lively. The right scene depicts the birth of the Buddha. Here both the ladies are putting on tight-fitting *Pyjamas*, over which long frocs cover the body. The queen mother, who stands cross-legged under the *Sal* tree, is supported by her sister, and is giving birth to the child from her side. Indra in the dress of a nobleman holds the child in his hands. At the two ends are two other gods with folded hands. The second scene on the left represents the prediction about the future of the child by the astrologer. The king, with his ornamental turban, is seated in the middle and behind him is the queen. The bearded astrologer is taking the child in his hands. At the back are two attendants in gay mood. There is a marked contrast between this panel representation and No. 111 above described.

Pl. 58 a. No. 113 (Reg. No. 7): This is a part of a circular panel, made of blue schist stone, measuring 11.5 inches by 4.5 inches. It was a surface collection. Only two scenes are represented, separated by Corinthian round pillar enclosed within a rectangular frame. The right scene depicts the return of the queen mother after the child birth in a chariot drawn by two lions. The chariot with its one wheel is only partly shown. The charioteer holds the baby in front. The lions are vigorously drawn. In front of the lion is a bent tree probably representing the Lumbini garden. The left

scene depicts the prediction about the future of the child by the astrologer who is holding the child (now broken). The king is seated on a high chair and is in talking mood. Behind him is the queen also seated on a high seat. The feet of the king and queen are resting on stools. Behind them the attendants are dimly visible. The carving is much better than No. 111. Pl. 58 b. No. 114 (Reg. No. 64): This is a part of a long circular panel, made of blue schist stone, measuring 14.8 inches by 4 inches. It was found in the top soil. Actually there are three scenes represented, each separated by a Corinthian pillar in the same fashion as No. 113. Above the scenes there is a row of leaf decoration. The scenes on the sides are partly broken. The right scene depicted Buddha going to school and the left scene learning of archery. In the middle the Buddha is seated alongwith his companion. Both of them are holding wooden boards and holders in their right hands. The teacher is sitting in front. The classroom is probably in the open and hence the tree is shown behind the student in the middle. The stone is much decayed but the carving is well done.

Pl. 59 a. No. 115 (Reg. No. 11): This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 18 inches by 5.6 inches and was found on the surface. This is a part of a long circular panel showing scenes in two registers, separated by a horizontal band containing a design with alternate eye and circle motifs. At the top there is a series of leaf design. The top register shows a tree in the middle and on its either side six soldiers, the sixth soldier on the right side is broken off. It seems there is an individual contest between one soldier and another and hence they make groups of two. Four of them are clearly holding shields and the others are having either clubs or swords. In the bottom register there are four scenes, each separated from the other by a Corinthian round pillar enclosed within a rectangular frame. The left scene shows the Buddha seated on a high seat holding a pen in his right hand and trying to write on the wooden board. By his right stands the teacher in the act of explaining. By his left is probably a companion or an attendant. At either end stands a tree, suggesting that it was an open air school. The next scene is badly damaged. In the third scene two devotees are holding bowls in their hands. The last scene may depict horse-riding and elephant-riding contests.

Pl. 59 b. No. 116 (Reg. No. 169): This is made of blue schist stone measuring 15 inches by 6 inches. It was found near the east wall of V.S. 26. It is a part of a long circular panel divided into two registers by a decorated design consisting of bricks laid end to end in the middle and hanging curtains at the sides. The top register has four family couples talking to each other. Between them intervenes a Corinthian round pillar. The lower regis-

ter shows two scenes from the life of the Buddha, each separated by a Corinthian round pillar. The right hand scene presents two views of the wrestling contest. In between stands a wrestler with a long stick in left hand and the right hand up in the mouth in astonishment. Both the wrestling contests clearly depict the mastery in the local techniques — the left scene shows the skill in leg movement and the right hand one the skill in grappling with hands. The second scene on the left shows Buddha's cousin Devadatta sending out a mad elephant through the gate. The Buddha, who stands at the far end, pulls the elephant by the tail to the surprise of a third standing man. The action is represented in a very lively fashion but the way in which the stone is divided into two registers places it in the third period.

Pl. 60 a. No. 117 (Reg. No. 33): This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 15.5 inches by 5.6 inches. It was found near the north wall of V.S. 1. It is a part of a big circular panel but is badly damaged. In the centre the Buddha is seated probably in *Abhaya mudra* inside a rocky cave. On its either side top Vajrapani is seated. Down below at either end a worshipper bends low his head. Other figures on the left are broken. But on the right three monks are preserved. Two of them are bearded. The one in front holds a *Kamandalu* in the left hand. The middle one has something in both the hands. The young unbearded disciple has a bowl in the left hand and probably a book in the right. Apparently the scene seems to represent Indra's visit to Indrasala cave but there is neither Indra nor the harpist preserved. Does it represent approach of the monks? (see below).

Pl. 60 b. No. 118 (Reg. No. 41): This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 12 inches by 5.6 inches. Though it was found near V.S. 2, it seems to be a part of the same circular panel as No. 117 above and probably also of the same scene. Here are seen seven monks proceeding to one direction probably towards the Buddha. Every monk is shown in different posture and mood. All the monks are holding spouted water flask in their left hands. Two of them are unbearded. All of them are putting on short tunic, except the third from the right, who has a short *dhoti*. The matted hair of the bearded monks is clearly visible. The unbearded monks have their hair falling behind their head. The right hands of all of them are up in the act of putting questions. The whole arrangement is well-balanced.

Pl. 61 a. No. 119 (Reg. No. 126): This is made of blue schist stone, measuring 15.5 inches by 4.6 inches and was found near the south wall of V.S. 19. This is a part of a long panel, the upper right hand side is chipped off. It represents the scene of *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha in between two Co-

Corinthian square pillars. In the front side of the pillars there is a small tree motif in high relief. The Buddha is lying prostrate statue-like on his bed, his head resting on his right hand placed on the pillow. Below the bed is a tripod with a man seated cross-legged. On the right there are three monks, one of them has placed his head on the bed in the act of mourning. The second one is holding a torch, and the third, probably Mahakasyapa, a stick. At the head there are five figures, the second from the right is the bearded Vajrapani. Other figures are in the act of mourning or adoration. Overhead there are other persons in different acts of mourning or worshipping.

Pl. 61 b. No. 120 (Reg. No. 118): This is also made of blue schist stone measuring 19.7 inches by 4.7 inches. It was found near the west wall of V.S. 19. It is a part of a long circular panel showing *Dhyani-Buddhas* in a row. Here we have seven Buddhas, each separated by a conventional tree. All of them are robed in the typical Gandharan style covering both the shoulders. The folds of the drapery are sparsely shown. The faces are of one type, having trapezoidal features and fleshy cheek. On the head the hair is combed back and the *ushnisha* is of the ridged variety. The hands are concealed under the garment and so are the feet. The hem of the garment drops under the hands right in front. The seat has a floral decoration at the cornice and below it is plain surface. The Buddha type is earlier in date but the way of depiction in a very conventional style follows the practice of the third period.

GROUP (c)

As large number of votive stupas were erected in this period, we obtained several specimens of spherical drums, pillars, brackets and *harmikas* of schist stone scattered here and there. Only one example is illustrated below.

Pl. 63 a. No. 123 (Reg. No. 104): This is made of blue schist stone and it measures 6.5 inches square. Its height is 4 inches. It is carved on all its four sides. At the top is a row of leaves. At the sides are Corinthian square pillars with deep vertical cavity in the middle. In the centre is seated *Dhyani-Buddha* in the same style as given in No. 120 above. On his either side a devotee is standing with folded hands. One of them is a male and the other a female. The engraving is not very deep.

GROUP (d)

Pl. 62 a. No. 121 (Reg. No. 156): This is made of blue schist stone measur-

ing 7.7 inches by 3.5 inches. It was found near the eastern wall of V.S. 22. It represents a winged Atlas seated on his right folded legs flat on the seat while the left leg is up. He is putting on only loin cloth. His right hand is raised up in the act of supporting something. Triple wings are carved in somewhat high relief in a very conventional fashion. The face is very expressive and the hair is done in several curls. This type is the representative of this period.

Pl. 62 b. No. 122 (Reg. No. 102): This is made of blue schist stone measuring 13.5 inches by 5.5 inches. It was found near the south wall of V.S. 19. The stone is very much corroded. It represents another variety of winged Atlas seated on his right folded legs placed on the seat with his left leg up and brought forward. His right hand is placed on the seat and the left is on the knee. The wings are engraved with a noble curvature in high relief.

GROUP (e)

Pl. 56 b. No. 110 (Reg. No. 205): This is made of blue schist stone measuring 10 inches by 8.5 inches. It was found near the south wall of V.S. 19. It represents in its front a Chaitya arch. On its top two parrots are sitting facing in the opposite direction. Within the chaitya there is an arched frame having a continuous leafy design. It is of the same type as is seen at Ramora. In the middle the Buddha is standing to front in typical Gandharan robe. On his either side a devotee is standing in worshipful pose. Below is a design made up of bricks laid end to end. Above the Buddha is a crescentic ceiling showing a row of dots in front. The decoration of this chaitya provides a link with the sculpture from Ramora.

Pl. 63 b. No. 124 (Reg. No. 109): This is made of blue schist stone measuring 5.7 inches wide and 7.5 inches high. It is a bracket with the Buddha seated in an arched cave. The front of the cave shows the cinq-foil arch and the cave itself is indicated by rough and crude lines and incisions. The Buddha is seated in *Dhyani-mudra* in the typical Gandharan robe. The hair, which is combed back, is rather crudely represented. This type makes a great contrast with the similar brackets of the first period.

Pl. 64 a. No. 125 (Reg. No. 192): This is another piece of bracket stone measuring 6.7 inches by 5.6 inches. It was found near the southern wall of V.S. 20. It represents a headless figure seated in a high backed seat. The figure represents a noble warrior having a spear (broken) in the left hand. The right hand is placed on the knee. He is putting on a tight-fitting robe in the Iranian style and wears long boots.

Pl. 64 b. No. 126 (Reg. No. 78); This is also made of blue schist stone measuring 4 inches by 2.6 inches. It was found in the top soil. It represents a fierce-looking nude seated woman with the hands placed on the knees and the legs slightly raised up and doubled. The skin fold of the belly is distinctly marked. The navel is also clearly seen.

INSCRIBED STONE FROM CHATPAT

The inscribed stone was broken into two pieces by earlier diggers and thrown in the debris. These two pieces were recovered from two different places in the debris of the earliest period. Both of them fitted into a long rectangular block with its one end broken. On its flat top heart-shaped lamps (Pl. 65 a. No. 127) were scooped in the stone. Four of them are complete, one is broken, and it seems there was a sixth one, now completely missing.

On its side there is a single line of Kharoshthi inscription (Pl. 65 b. No. 128) almost complete only the last word so cryptly written that it is difficult to read. The inscription confirms the main object of the stone piece, which had originally six lamps in its flat side. These six lamps are referred to by the phrase *Shaa diaa*, which I take to stand for *Shad dipaka*. The vanishing of the cerebral letter *d*, occurring at the end of the word *Shaa* is not attested in the inscriptions published so far. But Konow in his grammatical sketch has given instances where the letter *Pa* is replaced by *a*, in the case of *Kua* for *Kupa*, and *Ka* is also replaced by *a* as in the case of *Kusulua* for *Kusuluka*. Thus the phrase *Shaa diaa* is a legitimate expression in the Gandharan Prakrit of the time. *Thubami* or correctly *Thubammi* occurs several times in the Kharoshthi inscriptions of this period. *Dhammavala* is a distinct Indian name but *Mediva* is possibly Scytho-Parthian.

The date of the inscription is possibly to be determined by the palaeographical peculiarities. The anusvara *m* added to the letter *dham* is expressed by a hook at the lower end, as we note in the inscriptions of the Scytho-Parthians and of later kings. The medial *u* in *thu* is shown by a loop known from the Kushana period. The umbrella-top of *Sha* is acutely angular but this feature is probably due to engraving on stone. The form of dental *Sa* is very decisive. In the two places, where it occurs, its head does not show the perfect open mouth as we see in most of the inscriptions of the Great Kushanas but a slanting upper stroke goes up the stem just to reduce the width of the open mouth. This style of writing is commonly seen in the inscriptions of the Scytho-Parthians, and the latest that I have seen is in the Peshawar Museum inscription, dated the year 168 (Konow, Pl. XV, P. 79). But oc-

casionally the form is also known in the early Kushana inscriptions. It seems that the inscription should not be dated later than the second half of the 1st Century A.D. If this is accepted, the inscription can reasonably fix the beginning of the stupa building at the site of Chatpat in the latter half of the first century A.D. at the latest. The inscription also gives the name of one of the stupa, as that of *Dhammavala*. The reading and translation are given below:—

TEXT

Dhammavalasa thuba (m) mi Shaa diaa
Medivasa

TRANSLATION

At the stupa of Dharmabala six lamps,
(gift of) Mediva.

EXCAVATION AT DAMKOT

By

Mr. Abdur Rahman

Damkot is a ridge opposite the modern fort at Chakdara, built by the British in 1896 to guard the iron bridge that spans the Swat river and opens the route to Dir, Bajaur, Chitral and northern areas. The ridge is topped by a signal tower, commonly known as Churchill Point, but its name, which literally means a "Fort of Dhamma", has peculiarly preserved two phases of the historical relics — the monastic establishment of the Dhamma (i.e. the Buddhist community) believers and a fort of the Hindu Shahis. Historical records speak only of a Mughal fort at Chakdara, built in the time of Akbar, but it is archaeology that has now revealed a succession of occupations and thrown light on the importance of the site. Beginning from the earliest settlement in the early first millennium B.C. down to our own time Chakdara has dominated the approaches to the Swat valley. How has the course of history been affected is revealed in the excavations at Damkot conducted by Messrs Farid Khan and Abdur Rahman, lecturers in the Department of Archaeology. The report, now presented in the words of Mr. Abdur Rahman, reveals the first phase of history.

(1) INTRODUCTION

The Chakdara-Uchh valley¹ (Pl. 1) in which Damkot² holds an important position, is like an irregular triangle with the base line parallel to the north and apex resting upon the river Swat in the south. (Fig. 7). Measuring nearly 8½ miles N. to S. and 7 E. to W., it is bounded on all the sides by folds of steep hills which enclose similar other valleys around it — Talash and Khadakzai to the north-west and west respectively, and Aspan and Shamozaï to the north-east. Its average height above sea level is between 2217' (near Chakdara) and 2820' (near Uchh). Along its northern side runs the Laram Ghar hill rising to between 6560 and 7579 feet in heights and providing effective protection from that direction. The Laram Ghar hill is mostly denuded of its vegetation on the lower reaches. On the south-east the triangle is bounded by Shiva Ghar hill which reaches some 5002 feet in height and divides it off from the Shamozaï valley. As it approaches the

1. Also called Adinzai valley.

2. This is how the place is locally known. The word Damkot may be a corruption of Dhamma Kot (i.e. Religious Enclosure).

river the southern tip of this hill sweeps along the river bank and comes closer to Chakdara. The south-western side is marked by Bar Charai hill, of which the highest peak rises to 6680 feet. All these hills, bordering the valley, have thrown their off-shoots into the interior like the fingers of a hand creating picturesque glens or side valleys with artificially raised terraced fields and perennial springs. These lush green glens were once the home of various Buddhist establishments. The main valley is slightly tilted towards the south-west and then the whole land slopes gradually towards the river. The northern part of the valley is intersected by deep ravines and seasonal streams which ultimately unite into a vast *Khivar* debouching into the river a little above Damkot.

This natural fortification, provided by the steep hills with all their strength and protection, however, is unable to completely isolate the valley from the neighbouring tracts. The triangle is pierced by spacious gaps (or passes) in the corners which had intimate bearing upon the fortunes of its occupants, as it is only through these gaps that heavy traffic can flow in. The modern Chakdara-Dir road passing through the same passes probably marks the ancient route. The effectiveness of the defences, therefore, depended upon the degree of control over these vulnerable points; and this fact was not lost sight of, at least, in the Hindu Shahi regime. Thus we see that a cordon of forts was thrown around, each holding dominant position over a gap. (see map, fig. 7). To be more precise, Kat Kala (Fort of the Pass) with a series of out-posts along the roadside guards the western pass through Talash valley; Kala Dherai (Mound of the Fort) is strategically placed in the eastern corner protecting any approach from Aspan. The fort of Kamal Khan China guards the passage to Shamozaï area along the river bank, and Damkot — the most important of all — serves the dual purpose of guarding the river crossing in the south and the approach towards Khadakzaï valley to the west.

Here we can make a digression to Talash valley to acquaint ourselves rapidly with similar structures over there. Together the two valleys make an arc — high in the middle and sloping towards the ends. When we cross through the Katkala pass to enter into Talash we shall be at once struck by clusters of ruined buildings,¹ massive in construction, built upon the hill slopes to the south of the metalled road. Crumbling though they are at present, the amount of debris lying nearby is highly suggestive, and

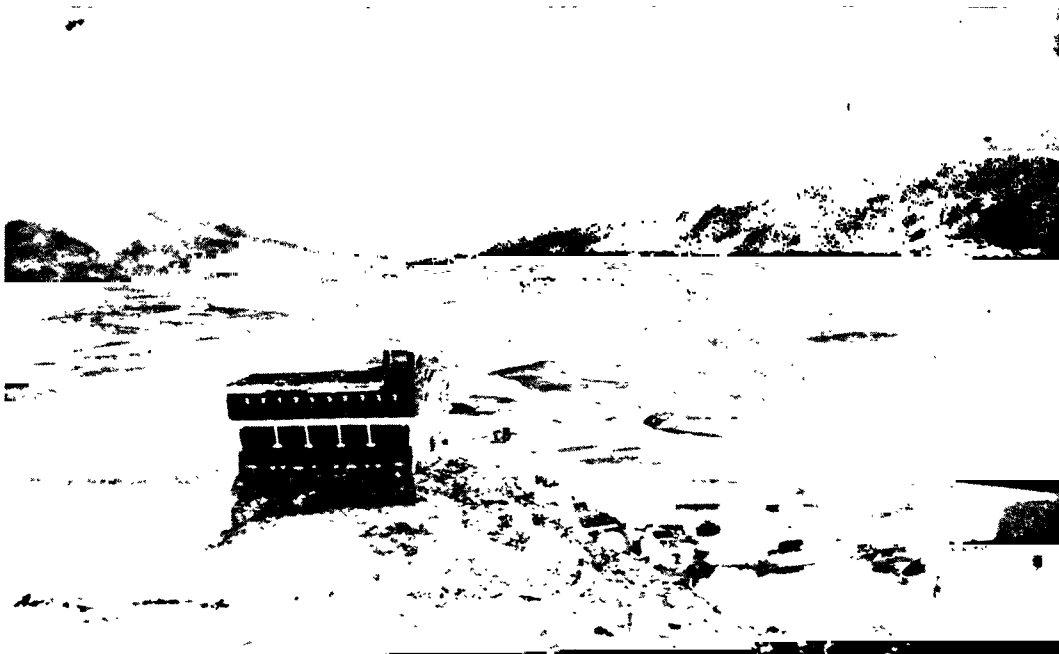
1. Sir Olaf Caroe has identified this site with Massaga of Alexander's historians, but so far we have no evidence that the buildings go back to the 4th century B.C. See Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans* p. 52.



No. 129. Damkot Hill with the river Swat in the foreground.



a. No. 130. Damkot hill



b. No. 131. Damkot— Churchill Point and modern fort.



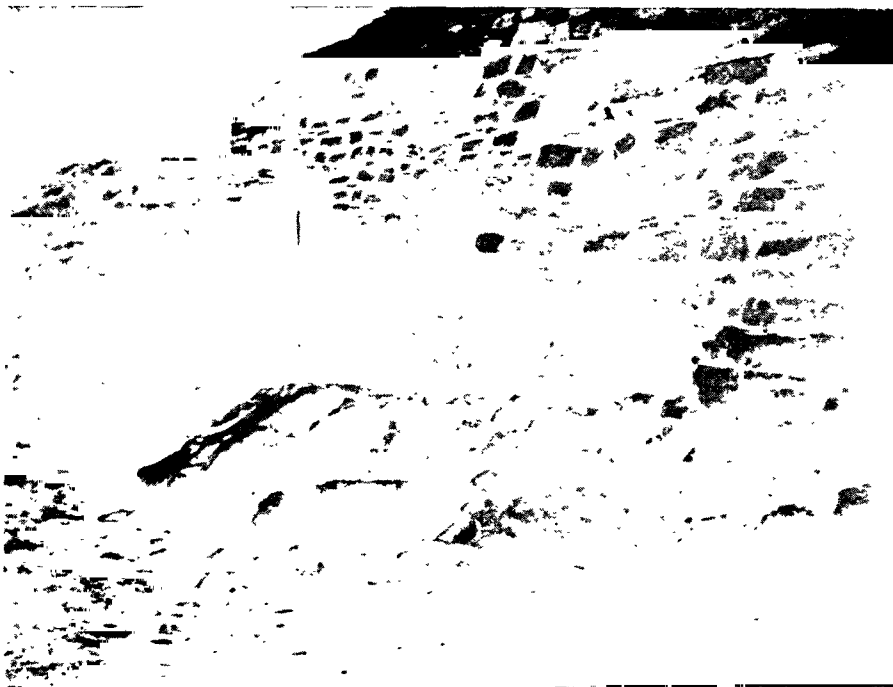
a. No. 132. Damkot — Soak-pit, Period V.



b. No. 133. Damkot — Covered drain, Period V.



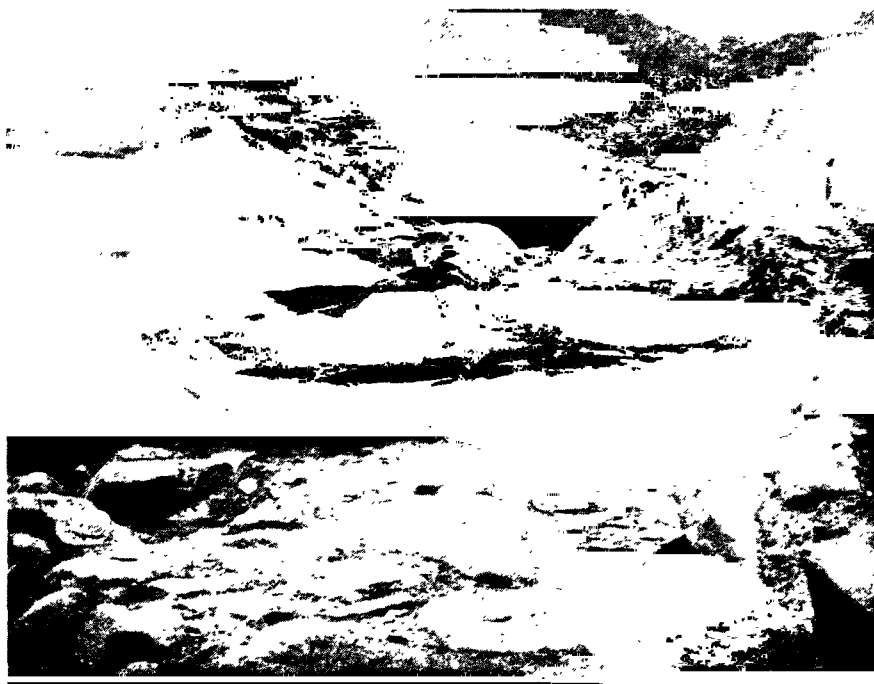
a. No. 134. Damkot — Reuse of old walls in Period V.



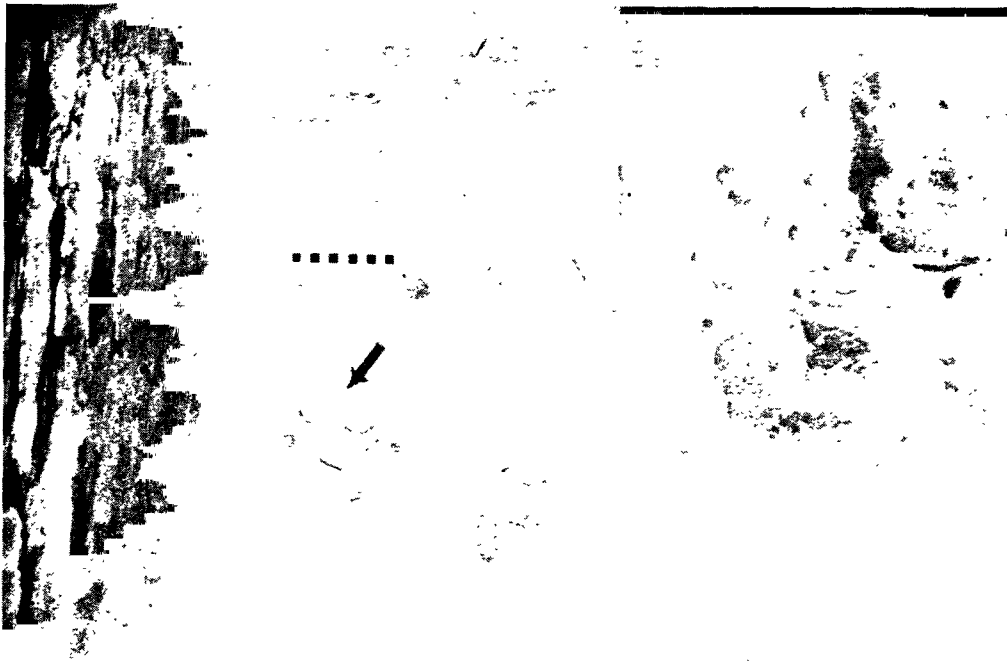
b. No. 135. Damkot — Defensive wall and circular tower



a. No. 136. Damkot — Defensive wall.



b. No. 137. Damkot. — Circular tower (Period V.)



a. No. 138. Damkot — T.C. plaque of Buddha and other materials
in a water reservoir.



b. No. 139. Damkot — Storage
vessel (Period IV)



a. No. 140. Damkot — Grinding mill
stone (Period IV).



b. No. 141. Damkot — Base of a
column (Period IV).



a. No. 142. Damkot — Exposed walls.



b. No. 143. Damkot. — Period IV wall
on layer (5) and below it
Period II wall.



a. No. 144. Damkot — Stair way (Period II), trench C I.



b. No. 145. Damkot — Outer wall of the reservoir on layer (6).



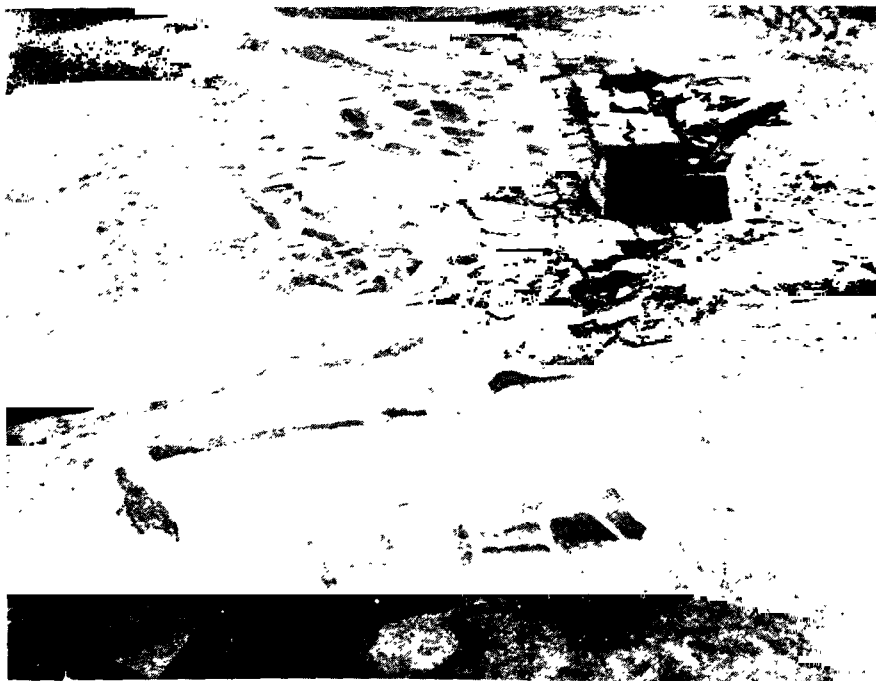
a. No. 146. Damkot — Storage jar
(Period II).



b. No. 147. Damkot — Area B. site
before excavation.



a. No. 148. Damkot — Fallen rocks and the stupa.



b. No. 149. Damkot — Smith shop.



a. No. 150. Damkot In situ vases (Period V)



b. No. 151. Damkot — Lower tier
of stupa on Period V wall.



a. No. 152. Damkot — Clearing
the stupa



b. No. 153. Damkot — Wall of Period V
on stupa steps.



a. No. 154. Damkot — A post-stupa period wall on its floor.



b. No. 155. Damkot — Storage vessel
in trench B 3



a. No. 156. Damkot — Stupa floor with
rocks over it.



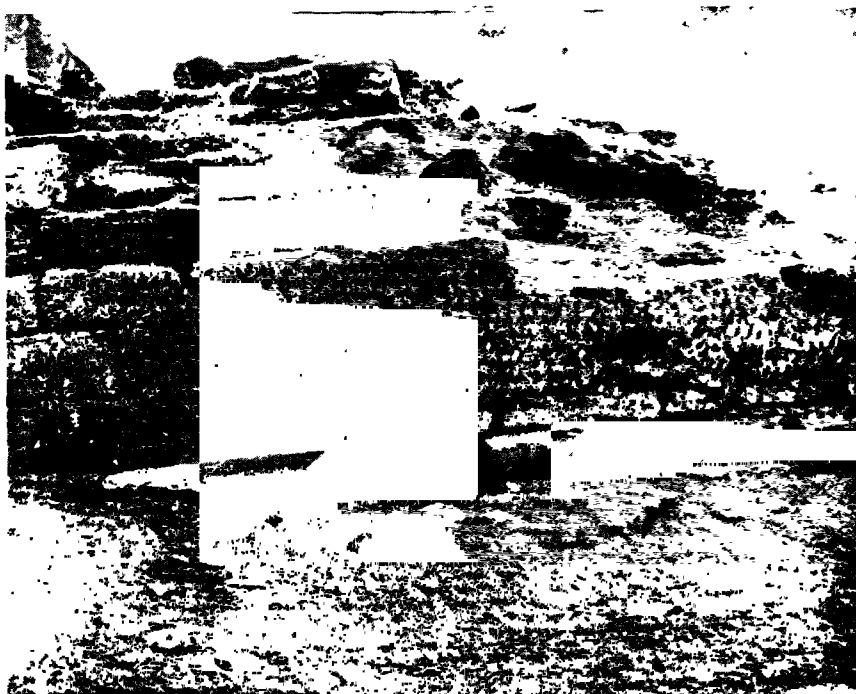
b. No. 157. Damkot — A small cell.



a. No. 158. Damkot — General view of the Stupa.



b. No. 159. Damkot — Decayed ashlar blocks
in the lower tier of the stupa.



a. No. 160. Damkot — Damaged floor of stupa.



b. No. 161. Damkot — An earlier door under the stupa.



a. No. 162. Damkot — Different period structures at the stupa site.



b No. 163. Damkot — Period II floor level marked by mill stone.



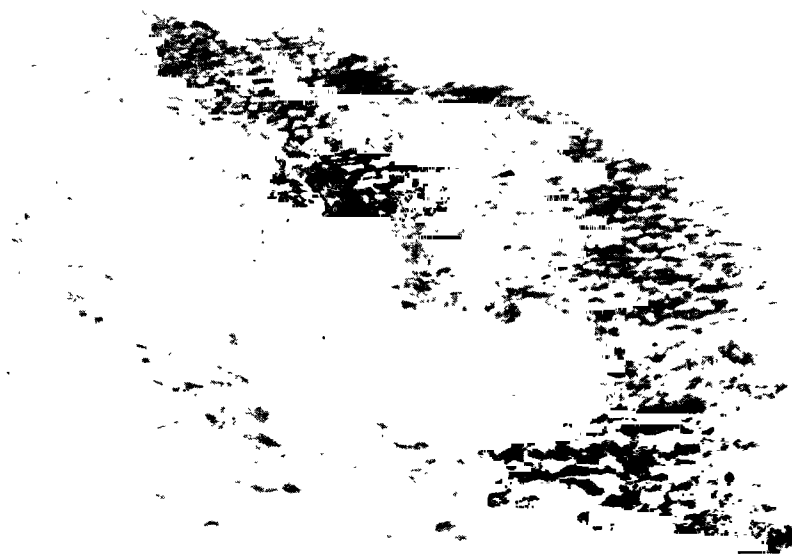
a. No. 164. Damkot — Circular tower
of the defensive wall.



b. No. 165. Damkot — Defensive wall.
Plate No. 84



a. No. 166. Damkot — A semi-circular tower.



b. No. 167. Damkot — Crumbling defensive wall.



a. No. 168. Damkot — Tower damaged by rain water



b. No. 169. Damkot — Heap of rounded stones.



No. 170. Damkot — No. 1. Wima Ncs. 2-8 Kanishka. Nos. 9-10 Sri Vakka Deva. Nos. 11-12. Sri Samanta Deva



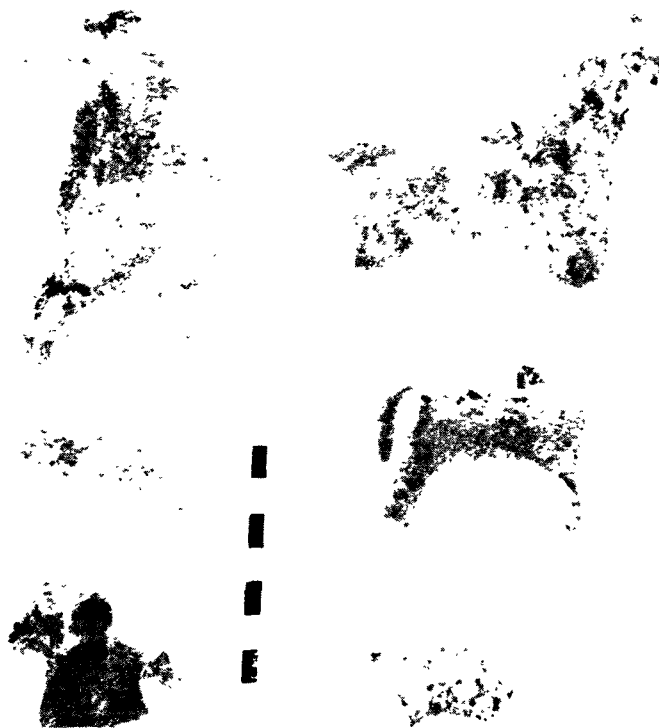
a. No. 171. Damkot — Cast
of a mould.



b. No. 172. Damkot — Terracotta
female bust.

c. No. 173. Damkot —
Turbaned male
(front view).

d. No. 174. Damkot —
Turbaned male
(back view)



a. No. 175. Damkot — Terracota bulls.

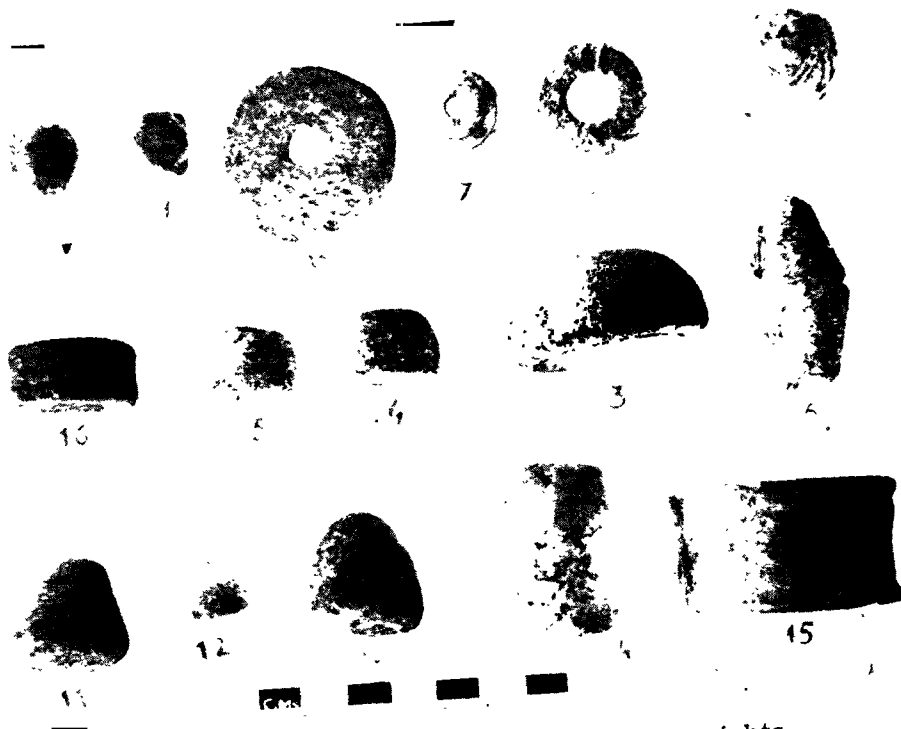


b. No. 176. Damkot — Terracota horses.

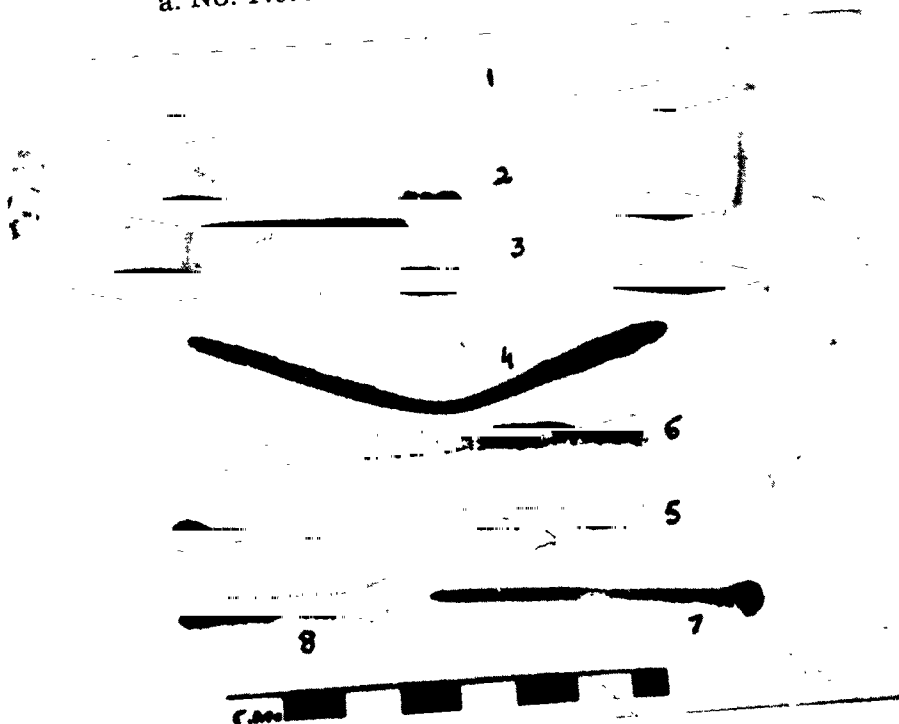


a. No. 177. Damkot — Lion-head

b. No. 178. Damkot — Seal with
Buddhist creed.



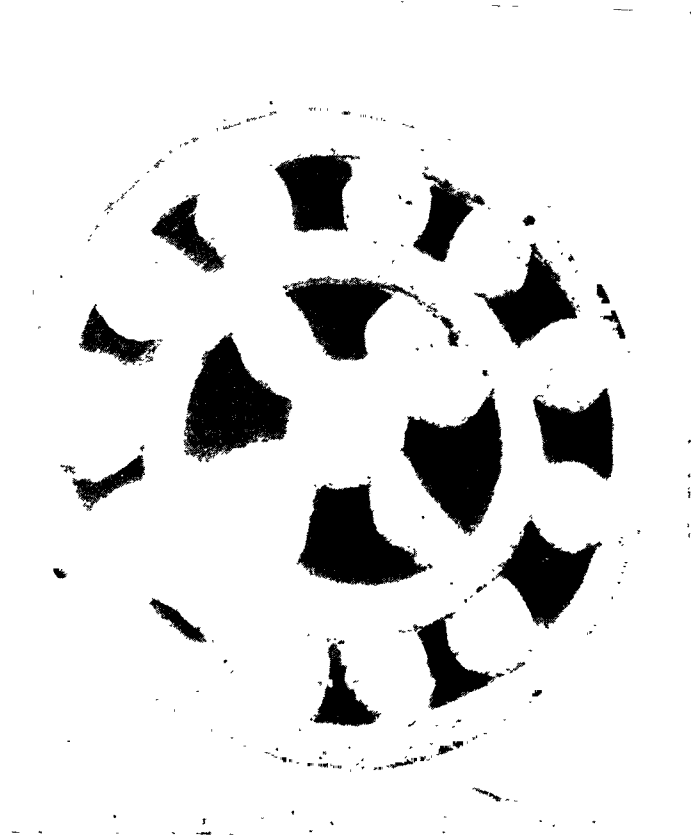
a. No. 179. Damkot — Stone beads and weights.



b. No. 180. Damkot — Toilet objects.
Plate No. 91



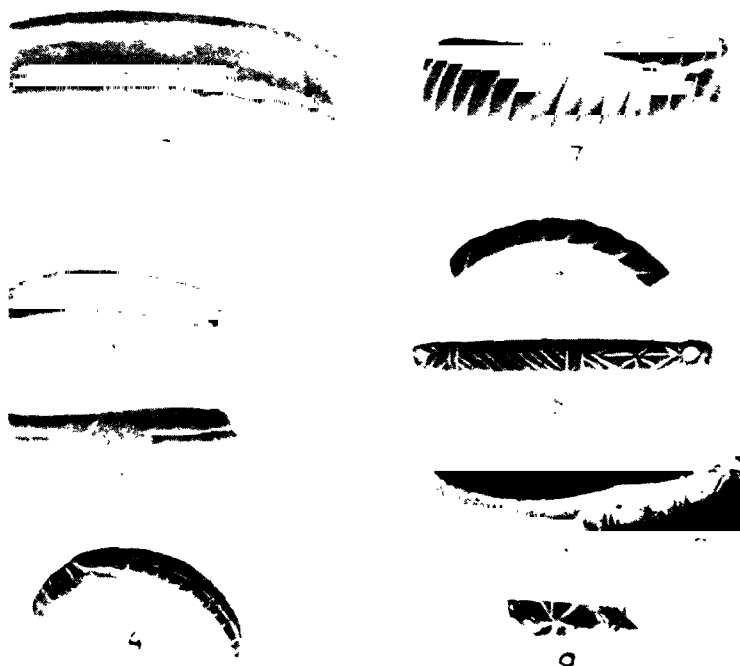
a. No. 181. Damkot — Finger rings, ear rings, fish-hooks.



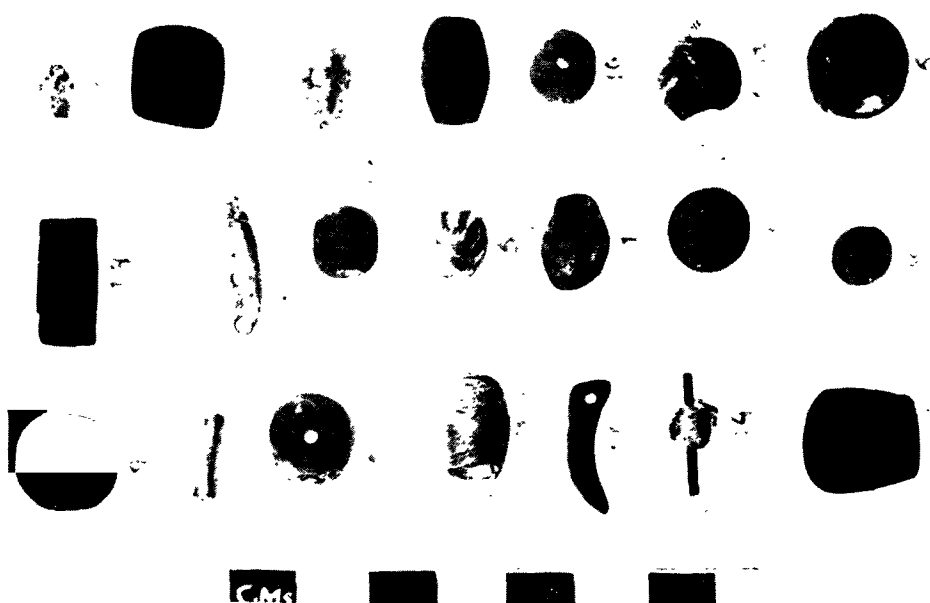
b. No. 182. Damkot — Copper floral design.



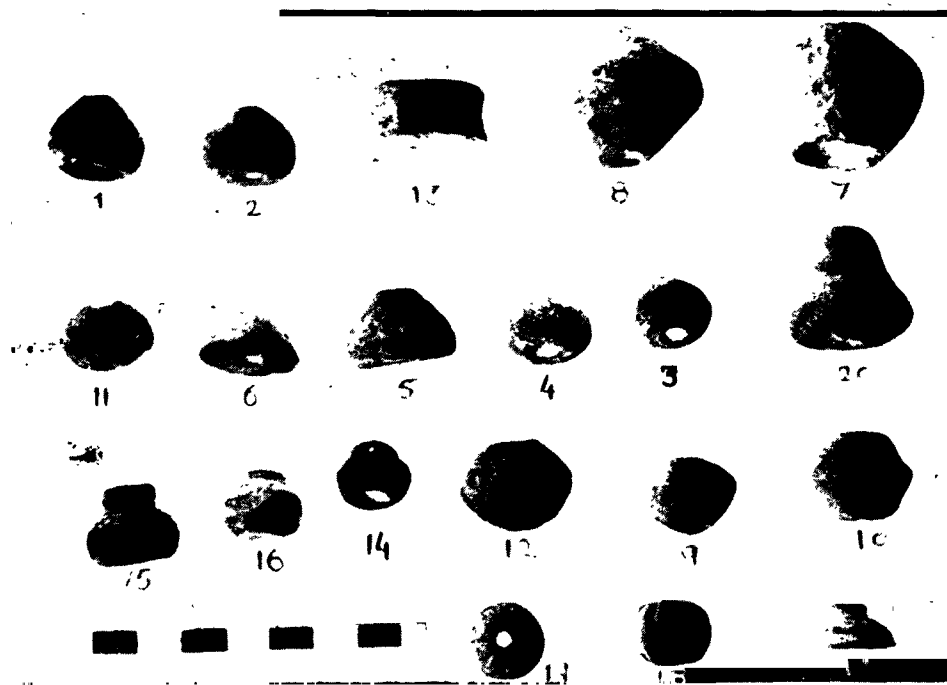
a. No. 183. Damkot — A copper design with devotees.



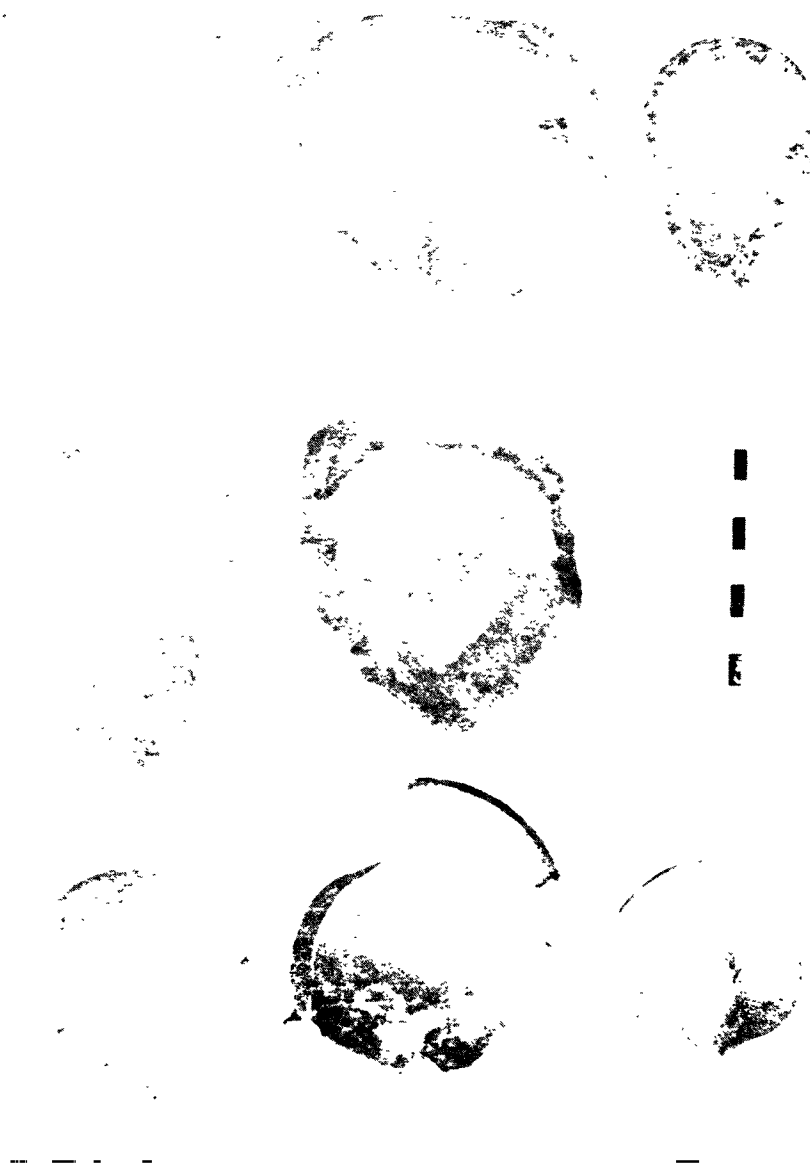
b. No. 184. Damkot — Shell bangles.



a. No. 185. Damkot — Terracotta beads.



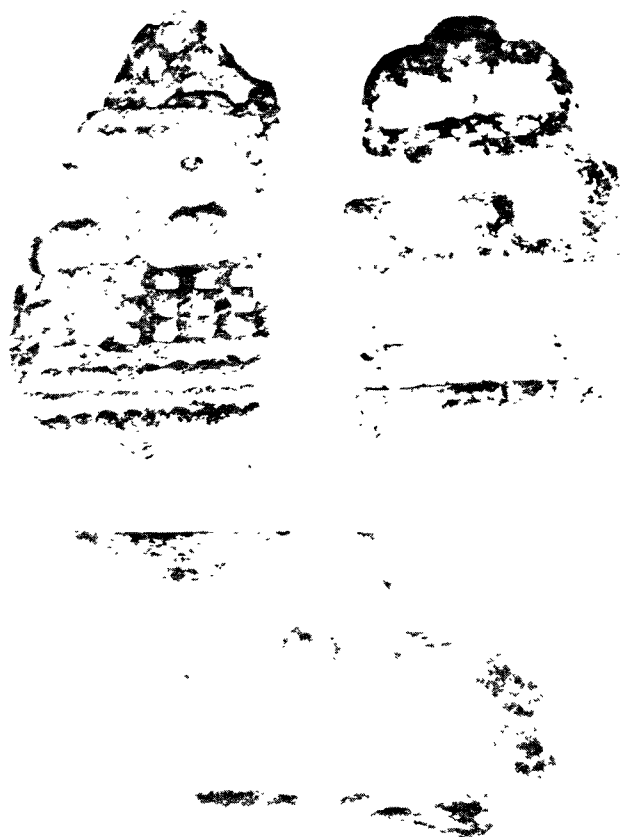
b. No. 186. Damkot — Beads of stone glass and shell



No. 187. Damkot. — Lamps.



No. 188. Damkot. — Seated Buddha (Period IV).



a. No. 189. Damkot — Schist sculptures.



b. No. 190. Damkot — heads.



a. No. 191. Damkot — Painted sherds of bowls.



b. No. 192. Damkot — Pedestalled bowls.

the purpose of the buildings may be unmistakably visualised. Their location on slopes or artificially raised platforms together with the absence of any cohesive has contributed much towards the total disappearance of several walls. The general features are the same in all of them. Firstly, there is a square tower-like apartment, built solid upto the existing height of 12 to 15 feet. It is comparatively better preserved. Secondly, the rows of rooms are either straight or grouped around a courtyard. They are interlinked through entrances having lintels on the top. Several of the walls facing the main valley or gullies, through which these buildings are more easily accessible, are provided with splayed out loop-holes. Thirdly these are placed near enough to each other so as to be within the reach of the eyesight. Fourthly, the masonry is crude diaper, the blocks used in the walls appear to be only roughly dressed. Thus it seems scarcely possible to avoid the following conclusions: (i) that their situation upon dominant places — very often difficult of access, their solidarity and plan indicate their military use. (ii) That the groups of these buildings were serving as out-posts for the neighbouring forts and citadels; (iii) that the tower-like structure standing still higher than the rest of the buildings were primarily designed as watch towers. They could also be used for sending signals by burning fire.

Apart from these isolated groups of structures we come across well-fortified places in the same line of hills which divide Talash from Khadak-zai valley. Among them, the name of Gumbat (Citadel), Bash Qala (fort) and Doda (fort) figure prominently. It appears that there is not a single ridge which was left unprotected in the whole of this valley. However the total absence of such structures on the northern line of hills is very curious.

The prime importance given to the defences of Talash and Chakdara-Uchh valleys may well be visualized in the presence of several forts—some of them turned into citadels — and several other groups of structures at every strategic point to be found there. The substantial amount of labour involved in these architectural activities was not lavished without reason. The area occupies an important position on the route linking south-eastern Afghanistan with Swat and Buner, and through Malakand and Shah Kot passes, with the plains of Mardan and Peshawar. It may be added, parenthetically, that the location of these forts together with their rapid construction in a short period of time reflects defensive rather than offensive nature.

1. These seven forts include Damkot, Kamal Khan China, Kala Dheri, Katkala, Doda, Dhob and Gumbat.

(ii) *The Damkot Hill*: The line of hills dividing the Chakdara-Uchh valley from Khadakzai area abruptly ends at the right bank of the Swat (River) throwing an off-shoot to the east which accommodates, on its southern slope, the remains of an ancient fort locally known as Damkot (Lat. 34° 39' N; Long 72° 1'. It is separated from the main ridge by a narrow saddle through which passes the modern road to Khadakzai (Pl. 67 a. No. 130). On the top, the hill culminates in three rocky eminences here named as Western Peak, Middle Peak and Eastern Peak. The Western Peak is a small conical projection in the rocky wall which rises steeply above the 400 ft. Contour line (see Fig. 8) and shields the western face of this hill. It is narrow on the top and is occupied by a bastion-like structure of the defensive wall. The Middle Peak rises to a little above 2700 ft. above sea level and happens to be the most important part owing not only to its towering height but also to a small plateau, which rises into two terraces on the top. This was the main target of our excavation. It is fringed by vertical heights, almost unscaleable for the upper fifty feet. On the east and west, it is connected by the other two peaks through narrow saddles. The occasional slopes and faults in the outer fringe appear to have been patched up by high masonry walls which give the impression of an inner enclosure. The Eastern Peak (also known as Churchill Point) (Pl. 67 b. No. 131) ascends steeply almost 70 ft. above the immediately surrounding area. On the top it accommodates a modern signal post (known as Shisho — gharat'). Beyond that the hill flattens out, and gradually slopes to the east, terminating in a rocky knoll known as Shah Dheri which is presently occupied by a British-built fort (Pl. 67 b. No. 131). It is from this side that Damkot can be comparatively easily approached. A dotted line on the contour map indicates a sloping track which winds up to the Churchill Point.

(iii) *Shamlai*. To the north of the Damkot hill is a vast glen descending from the bare mountains on the back and demarcated on the north by another parallel off-shoot which terminates on the roadside in a conical summit known as Pahlwan-o-Ghundai². The modern road leading to Talash skirts the mouth of this glen. To the local people it is known as Shamlai. It is intersected by deep ravines and seasonal hill torrents which ultimately drain into the main river only a little above the modern fort. There are two perennial springs flowing out of the western ridges, under Jama Banda, and constitute the main source of water supply. The general surface of this

1. Meaning "Mirror Guard".

2. i.e. the hill of wrestler or athlete.

small plateau formed of compact clayey material slopes markedly towards the Damkot hill. That this glen or side valley was occupied in ancient times can abundantly be evidenced in the remnants of several structures, some of which may easily be recognised as small stupas robbed, though, of their sculptural wealth. Pottery finds on the surface together with crude diaper masonry, as revealed by some of the structures, are ample evidence to indicate that some of these buildings go as far back as the last occupational periods at Damkot (DK IV and V). Their purpose cannot be missed. Defending the Pahlwan-o-Ghundai off-shoot, they served as out-posts for Damkot which being connected with other forts situated on the same line of mountains, could maintain a constant supply of soldiers along the crest line of the hills. Among the notable finds made here may be mentioned some stone tools of the type 'pointed-butt-axe' (Fig. 18, Nos. 1-3) found in a rather late context in a small rock-shelter created by rock-falls. Almost three acres of land in the mouth of this glen is occupied by modern Muslim graves though its similar use in a remote age was attested by opening some ancient graves¹ which yielded materials comparable to the late phase of the Gandhara Grave Culture.

(iv) *Circumvallated Area*: The fortification wall (Fig. 8) passing along the northern side of the Middle Peak skirts around the Churchill Point and then abruptly drops to the river on the east; on the other side it rises first on the top of the Western Peak, then follows the high rocky wall for a short distance, takes a sharp westward turn and then turning south it drops to the river. The area thus marked by the perimeter wall is all spreading upon the southern slope of the Damkot hill, from the highest top down to the river. The slope on this side is not regular, nor all of it can be approached from all points. It is broken mostly by precipitous heights and bluffs accommodating small terraces which have been interconnected by artificially raised or otherwise sloping tracks. Anything once fallen from the top, on this side, would go straight down to the river bed demonstrating the steepness of the hill. Occasional buildings might also be seen on these terraces. Of necessity the greater concentration of dwellings was either on the peaks or down below along the river side.

(v) *Natural Strength of the Damkot Hill*. Rising a little less than 500 feet in height over the riverine plain, it is slightly curved in the middle and is washed at its convex side by swift waters of the Swat river below the precipitous rocky slopes which render it unassailable from this side. (Pl. 66 No. 129). On the concave side (north) unscaleable vertical heights fringe

1. The graves yielded fragments of iron which characterise Timargarha Period III. See *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. III, p. 47.

the central part of the hill except for two torrent beds. These points appear to have been strengthened by high masonry walls. On the east, however, the slope is gradual, as pointed out above. Nevertheless when we approach the defensive wall from this side the hill suddenly rises into a pinnacle (i.e. Churchill Point) with a domineering effect. Thus almost completely isolated from the main ridge, with its towering eminences over the surrounding area and one side protected by river (which also served as a source of water supply) the natural strength of the hill was a sufficient incentive to invite the attention of a military strategist.

(vi) *Strategic position of Damkot*: The choice of a site serving diverse purposes is often dictated by topography and routes which form the major lines of communication. Damkot is well-seated to guard the river crossing and all the routes traversing through the Chakdara-Uchh valley. It is high enough to keep under vigilance the Malakand and the Shah Kot passes on the one hand and Barikot¹ on the other. Thus seated safely almost in the centre of a cordon of equally important forts it not only commanded a panoramic view of the surrounding valleys but also guarded the main route linking these areas with south-eastern Afghanistan.

(2) SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

Period I: Damkot was first occupied in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. by a people who settled on the virgin soil in a hollow, protected by rocks on three sides but open to the south, on the Middle Peak. They had burnished grey and black pottery as a significant ceramic industry. Much of the grey pottery reveals the use of slow wheel. A sizeable number of the vases have mat-impression on the bottom. The associated red ware is comparatively finer in manufacture, and is made on a fast wheel, very

1. Barikot is identified by Sir Aurel Stein with Bazira. His identification mainly depends upon the philological relation of Barikot with Bazira and the topography of the site which, according him, agrees with that given by Alexander's historians. See Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tract*. P. 27. It may be pointed out however, that the masonry exhibited by the existing walls — rough diaper, almost approaching to rubble — is characteristic of the Hindu Shahi forts in this region. So also is the implication of the potsherds with complex rim formation found on the surface. The story revealed by the coins which Stein collected from the village Barikot also agrees with it. Specimens of coins range, he reports, from the issues of the Indo-Greeks, Kushans to the 'mintages of the Hindu Shahis'. Stein, *Ibid*, P. 22. What remaint on the top of the Barikot hill is therefore undoubtedly ascribable to the Hindu Shahis.

often showing reddish wash though a few sherds indicate the use of a rich red slip. A few fragments of hammered copper sheet indicate familiarity of the people with this metal. The accompanied polished stone tools probably form a dying out cultural under-current. On the whole, the material is comparable to Period III of the general stratigraphy at Timargarha and to that from layer 17, 16 & 15 at Ghaligai. Owing to the absence of any related evidence, it is not clear what happened to these people. The site was abandoned for a long time as suggested by a thick layer of hill wash and stones.

Period II: It was re-occupied probably in the 1st century B.C. or A.D. in the Scytho-Parthian times. Grey ware, at this level, is conspicuous by its total absence. A distinctive red ware is represented by a large number of pedestalled bowls having egg-shell thickness. In most examples they are painted black-on-red showing peacock, in a variety of forms, and other floral designs. A single doubtful coin found in a pit at this level is corroded beyond identification and the associated structures reveal fine diaper masonry.

Period III: The site continued to be occupied, without interruption, in the succeeding period which yielded coins of Wima, Kanishka and Vasudeva II in the similar order of succession. Pedestalled bowls with black painted peacock, represented by a few sherds in the 1st phase, died out by the time the coins of Kanishka came to be buried upon this site. It was a period of intensive occupation and suggestive of an opulent community. The associated structures show diaper masonry, though inferior in quality both on areas A and B. By the time of Vasudeva II the accumulated debris had almost filled up the hollow so that a small plateau with fairly level surface was formed on area A to accommodate some more buildings. The plan of houses is not clear. Earlier walls continued to be re-used.

Period IV: End of the third or beginning of the fourth century A.D. witnessed major alterations in the existing structures and new additions to them where necessary. Area 'A' was converted into a monastery built afresh; the earlier structures being re-used only when they came in line with the orientation of the monastic cells. After some time a 'water reservoir' was constructed in the eastern half of the monastery, adjacent to the cells, blocking an earlier entrance. It shows fine diaper masonry. Most important finds related to this period including the terracotta plaque depicting Buddha in low relief, clay head of Buddha, a little plaque of cast bronze depicting a flamed halo with flanking devotees, a bronze coin

mould of a smaller denomination and numerous glass bangles alongwith the distinctive goblet-on-stand ware found in this reservoir. In the eastern half of area 'B' most of the earlier structures were pulled down to accommodate a stupa built in two diminishing tiers of finely dressed ashlar blocks of granite. After sometime, as the blocks underwent sufficient decay to create small cavities on the stupa walls, it was given a thick coating of lime plaster. Only a few specimens of schist sculptures, of which one piece depict Buddha on an inverted lotus, were found fallen on the floor. The Buddhist establishment continued to flourish until the end of the fifth century A.D. Probably at the turn of the sixth century A.D. some calamity¹ befell it and the place was abandoned till the arrival of the copper coin of Sri Vakka. The catastrophe may have been in the days of the White Huns who are generally believed to have devastated the Buddhist establishments in a short span of time. The details of this wide gap are abundantly documented in the plunder that followed as we see that many of the stone blocks used in the walling of the monastery disappeared, so that we had to trace these walls with difficulty. On the stupa site also a thick layer of accumulated debris, which were washed down from the comparatively higher Area 'A', was deposited along the northern face of the stupa which prevented it from going down the slope. It was during this time that most of the important antiquities made their way into the 'water reservoir'.

Period V: Somewhere in the time of Sri Vakka Deva the site attracted the attention of some military strategist so that Damkot was once again occupied but this time it had to serve a different purpose. The peaceful Buddhist settlement which gave its name to the site was converted into a strong military resort. Some of the structures on the Middle Peak and the Churchill Point were levelled down and the two of them were put into separate enclosures. The vertical effect of the rocks fringing them was enhanced by constructing high walls all round. Some of the older structures which came in line with the requirements of its new masters were re-used as solid foundations. A fortification wall with built-in circular towers and rectangular bastions was thrown on the southern face of the Damkot hill enclosing a spacious area. Care was taken, in the construction of the defensive wall, to exploit the natural strength of rocks where they gave vertical height. To ensure a constant water supply the defensive wall was brought down to the river. The site continued to be occupied without interruption and with minor repairs in the defensive wall not long after the

1. The evidence is not sufficient to prove that there was a calamity and that this calamity was due to the invasion of the White Huns in the fifth or sixth century A.D. —Editor.

billon currency of Sri Samanta Deva which is last datable evidence of the Hindu Shahis on this site. The constant occupation spreading over more or less two centuries turned the site into a citadel so that stables and smith shops were also included into it. In the pottery a large variety of formation with grooves, corrugations and incised lines was developed. Tanged arrow-heads, ranging from three to five inches in length, with square section, became the standard offensive weapon. What happened to the site? Violent destruction by fire is writ large in the thick layer of ashes and charcoal spreading on the top. Surely it died a violent death probably at the hands of Mahmud Ghaznavi at the end of the tenth century A.D. After that catastrophic destruction the site was again abandoned for a long time till the British built their signal post and coins of the East India Company arrived there.

(3) COMPARISON AND CHRONOLOGY

In the absence of any radio-carbon dates which would have been a surer base for dating we shall endeavour to build up the chronological framework on the evidence of coins. However, when even coins are not available we shall depend upon parallels and synchronisms from other sites, in the neighbourhood, which have already been excavated with some precision to inspire confidence. We refer to Ghaligai, Balambat, Charsadda and Shaikhan Dheri of which the former two happen to be in the immediate vicinity of Damkot in the hilly tracts whereas the other two are situated down in the plains. It appears indeed that the valleys of Swat and Dir and the plains below Malakand are so much inter-connected and inter-dependent that cultural uniformity in various aspects of human life would not be a distant matter. The sequence of cultures, therefore, would remain almost the same and the importance of a new site lies in its potentiality to furnish some missing link in the historical set-up of the region. It shall be clear from our analysis of cultural material that the sequence of cultures exposed at Charsadda¹ is not disturbed, though new details enlarge our view of some horizons.

Period 1. We shall first start our comparison with Ghaligai which happens to be just a few miles north-east of Damkot. There we have comparable material (mainly grey ware²) from strata 17, 16 and also 15 with which our grey ware industry conforms very well in paste, pot forms, sur-

1. i.e. Bala Hissar, as excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. See his report on *Charsada*. Oxford, 1962.
2. Stacul has compared it with Burzahom where similar grey ware with mat-impression has been found earlier. Stacul, P. 210.

face finish, and the significant mat-impression on the bottom of many pots. Damkot-1 resembles so much with the above mentioned phase of Ghaligai that one feels to have stumbled upon the same cultural level. It may be mentioned parenthetically that no associated structures came to light at both the sites, though natural protection provided by rocks at the lowest level of Damkot may be reasonably surmised¹. In the case of pottery it must be pointed out that whereas Stacul found a limited range of forms, as we learn from the short descriptions and few illustrations published so far, we were more fortunate in having a greater variety of pot-forms and their complete sections. For example our variety storage vessels (Fig. 24/112, 113), pitcher with thickened rim (Fig. 24/119, 121, 122 and Fig. 23/9), dish (Fig. 23/109), carinated bowl (Fig. 23/106), basin (Fig. 23/89), high pedestal base (Fig. 24/126, 127 and Fig. 23/102) find no parallels in Stacul. On the contrary his illustrated pot-forms (Fig. 6a-6b) from stratum (17) have their exact parallels in our Nos. 115, 97, 123, 100, 111, 103 and 114 in the similar order. From Ghaligai layer (16) he has illustrated one sherd of grey ware (Fig. 7-c) which can be very well compared with our No. 122 though our specimen has notched decoration on the top. Similarly his reddish brown Jar (Fig. 7-a), vase of reddish brown ware (Fig. 7-d) and reddish brown cooking tray (Fig. 7-f) appear to be the same as our Nos. 92, 98 and 79, though our cooking tray (reddish ware) has rather vertical wall and the other two are in grey ware. In spite of this apparent uniformity of cultural material we notice the basic difference between the products of the two sites in that the vases at Ghaligai "are all hand made" and of a very coarse textured paste². We have noted below that the majority of the grey pot-sherds which were brought to light from Damkot-I were made on slow wheel and could very well be mistaken for hand-made pottery but for the greater number of pot-sherds brought under examination by us. It would be therefore reasonable to say that, if the two different potting traditions are not confused at Ghaligai, our pottery in spite of the striking resemblance, should be placed later than Ghaligai layers (17) and (16).

But how far later? For that we shall take up the subsequent phase at Ghaligai i.e. layer (15). Regarding the potting tradition at this level it has been remarked that most of the pottery was of greyish paste and that the surface was treated more smoothly exhibiting more accurate workmanship and that

1. The deep hollow protected by high rocks at this level of Damkot (DK 1) looks very much like a rock-shelter.
2. Stacul, G. Excavations, in a rock shelter near Ghaligai, preliminary Report in *East and West*, new series, Vol. 17, Nos. 3-4, 1967, p. 208 (henceforth Stacul).

it was always carried out on the wheel. Stacul goes on to report that this pottery "clearly differs — from the greyware found in the underlying strata 16 and 17"¹ Judging from his illustrated examples it appears that this difference amounted only to the technique of manufacture, otherwise forms and shapes remained largely the same. Again all his illustrations have their analogues with us. Compare, for example, his 'large greyish vase' (Fig. 8a), another 'large greyish vase' (Fig. 8b) and 'top of a reddish ware jar' (Fig. 8c) with our Fig. 23/96, Fig. 24/118 and 117 in the similar order. Similarly the bottom of greyish vase illustrated by him (Fig. 8d) is similar to our Fig. 23/104. Even at this level the typological resemblance is very striking. Stacul has related this material to what he calls "Period of the culture of Swat necropolises".²

Another small detail may be added. In his strata (19) and (18) Stacul found pot-sherds characterised by very fine texture and usually pale red in colour, compact and well-baked and made on fast wheel³. This is actually our fine red ware. Stacul has compared it with Harappan pottery as regards the shapes, quality of the texture and workmanship. Our sherds are few in number and, moreover, they do not give full section to help reconstruction. It may be surmised however that the scant representation of a potting tradition which appears to be alien in the present context may be a distant echo from the Indus. The presence of peacock upon one of the sherds (Fig. 20/44) may also lend some support to the view. We are not sure, anyway.

Thus it appears that Damkot-1 is represented by mixed material comparable to Ghaligai strata (17), (16) and also (15). The associated red ware is however more evolved because the use of fast-wheel with comparatively finer results is not infrequently noted (see our Red Ware, Period 1). Many of the pot-forms in red ware have their exact analogues in greyware as well.⁴ The obvious implication is that greyware represents only a cultural sub-current. The greyware survived even at Balambat, therefore we find that we are in a better position when we come across thick sectioned burnished pottery (red as well as grey) with mat-impression and identical forms and shapes at that site. Different sub-varieties of our dishes (Fig. 20/28 and Fig. 22/73, 74) compare well with those from Ba-

1. Stacul, P. 211

2. *Ibid.*, P. 212

3. *Ibid.*, P. 205-7

4. Compare our No. 83 with No. 107, No. 82 and 84 with Nos. 108, 126, 127, No. 80 with No. 101, No. 74 with No. 109 and No. 99 with No. 5 and so on.

lambat (Fig. 53, Nos. 6, 7, 12). For the dish having extended lip and sagger base, we have an exact counterpart from Balambat: our Fig. 20/27, is similar to Balambat Fig. 53 No. 9 and our Fig. 23/110 in greyware compares well with it except that it has a different decoration. Next we take up pitcher with long neck (our Fig. 19/11) which has parallels in Balambat Fig. 51, Nos. 1, 2 and 4 and Fig. 53, No. 3. Their similarity is striking not only in fabric and polished redware but also in shape, surface treatment and decoration characterised by funnel shaped mouth and corrugations on the neck. Similarly our Fig. 21/49 may also be well compared with Balambat Fig. 51, No. 10 so far as their shapes are concerned. Another point of comparison may be seen in the small vases or 'narrow necked bottles' of coarse fabric (see our Fig. 23/98 and Balambat Fig. 52, Nos. 19-21), though the portion above neck is somewhat shorter in our example. The practice of perforated lugs is common to both sites (see our Fig. 20/38 and Balambat Fig. 52, No. 25) and so is the mat-impression.¹ Again rippled rim decoration, grooved horizontal or wavy lines are found at the comparable levels at both sites: Compare our Fig. 20/28, 29 with Balambat Fig. 51, No. 2.

Another comparable form is bowl-on-stand (our Fig. 23 and Fig. 22/83 No. 107 and Balambat Fig. 52, No. 3), though one of our examples is in greyware. Its occurrence in greyware is very rare and only a few examples are reported from Timargarha² but more from Butkara graves. It may be pointed however that our example (in greyware) unlike those of Timargarha is finely burnished.

We may also compare Balambat Fig. 52, No. 27 with our open-mouthed large bowl (Fig. 21/61) characterised by its coarse fabric. Only few examples were found by us though sufficient to attest its presence at this level.

Another point of contact with Balambat and which has not been reported from Ghaligai is the burnishing of some of the pots, particularly on the lip area and occasionally on the main body as well. All the burnished potsherds found by us were in grey or the derivative grey brown wares, though application of this technique to redware is attested at Balambat (see Fig. 55, No. 3 and P. 266). At Balambat again we find ground stone tool³ of the pointed-butt-axe' type comparable to those found in Damkot-1. Thus, in the final analysis one is tempted to see in the burnished red and

1) We have not illustrated any example from Balambat, though these are sufficiently lying with us

2) *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. III, P. 43.

3) Compare our Fig. 18, Nos. 4, 5 with Balambat Fig. 62 Nos. 1-4 and P. 234.

grey wares together with some pot-forms, mat-impression and ground stone tools as the standard clues to a culture which operate in the hilly tracts and which was partly contemporary with Balambat II (Period III of the general stratigraphy of Timargarha) and a little later than Ghaligai horizon III. If so we may also extend our view down to Sarai Khola where highly burnished brown pottery, wheel-turned and made of well levigated clay has been recently found.¹ Our illustration of a bowl (Fig. 23, No. 93) finds its exact counterpart at Sarai Khola.² Even mat-impression on the bottom of some vessels is found there.

It is evident from the above analysis that two distinct ceramic traditions comprising of (a) burnished greyware and (b) burnished red or red brown ware, were operating side by side in the valleys of Dir and Swat as also down into the plains at a particular time. Within greyware two stages can be pinpointed — stage (i) represented at Ghaligai by plain unburnished greyware and, stage (ii) by burnished greyware like that of Balambat Period II and Damkot-1. Which of the two is earlier? We have already noted that typical forms of greyware were duplicated in redware which may lend support to our supposition that stage (i) was earlier than stage (ii). Now Ghaligai material has been dated by Stacul to within the first half of the second millennium B.C. Our material representing stage (ii) would therefore be reasonably placed after the end of the first half of the second millennium B.C. This marks the earlier bracket for Damkot-1. The end of the bracket is marked by Balambat Period (ii) which goes as far back as the 9th century B.C. and with which our material partly overlaps. But Balambat (ii) (or Timargarha (iii)) are characterised by the introduction of iron in West Pakistan.³ Since we did not find iron at this level it would be sufficiently reasonable to place Damkot-1 at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. or a little earlier.

Period II revealed fully developed cultural material stamped with more perfect use of mechanical means in the manufacture of pottery resulting in grooved as well as beaded rims and very fine fabric some with eggshell thickness. The hall-mark of this period is the bowl (our 'fashion ware' Fig. 27/186-194) with or without pedestal and very often painted on the exterior with the peacock motif as outstanding decorative feature though plain variety is also not wanting. For typological correlation when we turn to Ghaligai strata 12, 10 and 9 we come across almost similar bowls. Ghaligai

1. *Pakistan Archaeology*, Vol. V, P. 35.

2. *Ibid*, Pl. Va.

3. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. III, P. 47.

Fig. 10g and h, for example, correspond very closely to our Fig. 28/229, Fig. 26/185 and Fig. 25/145. This is in fact our plain variety. Stacul did not find a complete section of the pedestalled variety, though he has illustrated one such pedestal-base (Fig. 10j) which certainly belongs to this type of bowl as we know from the many examples with us. At Charsada also we come across similar bowls. Charsada 1, Fig. 29, Nos. 246-251 and 254 compare well with our Fig. 29/238, Fig. 6/183 and Fig. 25/141, 148, 143 not only in form but also in fabric. Even the egg-shell thickness — the distinctive feature of many of our bowls, is achieved there.¹ Sir Mortimer has dated these bowls to the 2nd century B.C.² From Charsada V, layer (7) comes an example with black painted peacock so common on our bowls. This has also been dated to the end of the 2nd century B.C.³

Little importance was attached to this bowl in earlier excavations because very few examples came to light. In our excavation we found a large number of them, the study of which may be good chronologically. At Charsada, again, we shall look for its proto-type. Sir Mortimer has illustrated a pedestalled globular bowl (Fig. 12, No. 24) from Charsada 1, layer 41, and another (his brandy glass bowl) from Sari Dheri (Fig. 138) of what he calls the 'soapy redware'. Both examples are made on a tournette. In form these examples have striking resemblance with our bowls except the manufacturing technique and the outward inclination in the rim area of many of our examples, though some of our bowls (particularly the plain variety Fig. 26/175, and 179-185) have almost straight rim. Moreover, in our pedestalled variety the upper and lower parts are made separately and then finally luted together when the body clay was yet leather hard. These may be the different stages in its development, which are abundantly documented in the different varieties of this bowl, till it resulted in the sophisticated form — i.e. our fashion ware. Can we see in it an evolutionary change from the 'Brandy bowl' of Sari Dheri? Sir Mortimer has dated his examples to fifth & fourth century B.C.⁴ Taking into consideration the time-lag for this evolutionary change our provisional date for the type is first century B.C. to second century A.D.

For our pitcher with grooved rim (our Fig. 28/218 and Fig. 26/164) we find its counterparts in Ghaligai Fig. 9d and Charsada Fig. 29, No. 238, though the Charsada specimen has a somewhat outwardly inclined rim.

1. Wheeler, Sir Mortimer, Ch. 1, No. 247 and P. 70

2. *Ibid.* P. 70

3. *Ibid.* P. 100

4. *Ibid.* PP. 46, 48.

Again in Ghaligai 9g we find an exact analogue of our pitcher with vertical and externally collared rim (our Fig. 28/212). Another variety of the pitcher with grooved rim (our Fig. 26/158) has a parallel in Ghaligai 9e. Our storage vessel (Fig. 28/208) is similar to Ghaligai 9a and the flat base of a red vase (Fig. 9h) from Ghaligai Stratum 12 is the same as our Fig. 27/201. Similarly our large bowl (Fig. 26/171) compares well with Ghaligai 9j.

Thus we have sufficient evidence to correlate Damkot-II with Ghaligai stratum (9) and (10) and Charsada layers 20 and 19. Perfectly in line with it is the evidence to a double moulded female figurine¹ (Pl. 88 c and a) and a doubtful copper coin found in association with the painted bowls. *For Period III* we have the evidence of coins belonging to Wima, Kanishka and Vasudeva II found in the similar order of succession. None of the other Kushana Kings is represented here by their coinage, though the possibility is there. It goes without saying that chronology of the Kushanas is by itself a confused problem and the smaller number of their coins found by us little helps in solving them. Our provisional dates for this period are 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.

Period IV represents a late Buddhist phase at Damkot. Now we have the evidence of terracotta (Frontispiece) and clay Buddhist figures found in association with some very poorly carved specimens of schist sculptures (Pls. 96 and 97) and an unidentified but preferably late Kushana coin² mould (Pl. 88a, No. 171). Stratigraphically, these finds are attributed to post-Vasudeva II period and therefore datable to 4th and 5th centuries A.D. Stylistically these schist sculptures, characterised with linear quality of robes and flat figures, may be reasonably attributed to a decadent Buddhist phase when stucco, clay and terracotta had replaced schist as materials for making sculptures. Terracotta and clay figures exclusively Buddhist in character and very similar to the Buddhist stucco sculptures were found abundantly at Taxila.³ Marshall ascribed them to his 'Indo-Afghan School' and dated them to fourth and fifth centuries A.D.⁴ So also is the implication of Buddhist creed on a terracotta tablet found by us (Pl. 90b, No. 178) and inscribed in Gupta Brahmi character.

In consonance with the fifth century date is the evidence of some

1. At Shaikhan Dheri a number of double moulded figurines were found and they were ascribed to the Scytho-Parthian period. See *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, P. 47
2. Only cast from the mould is illustrated. It may be attributed to some late Kushana Chief or King.
3. Marshall, *Taxila* ii, P. 468.
4. *Ibid.*

stone lamps which we recovered from stratum (3). Again we find comparable examples at Taxila¹ where Marshall recorded some similar stone lamps, some of them found in association with Buddhist establishments. His variety 'leaf-shaped' lamp (Pl. 141 and P. 500) is almost the same as our variety heart-shaped lamp (Pl. 95, No. 187) except that the Taxila example is externally lugged whereas our lamp has internal projections. Moreover we do not have external lotus leaf decoration, but the shape of the two is very much alike. As to the date of this lamp Marshall remarks that this 'is almost certainly of the fifth century A.D.' For our variety 'd' (Fig. 17/9, 8) a comparable lamp of soap stone with three conjoined handle, straps comes from Charsada from pit B at the top of Charsada.² Wheeler observes that this lamp 'is not likely to date from the early centuries A.D.'³ One of the soap-stone lamps with us (Fig. 17/8) has the figure of seated Buddha on the underside and therefore may be unmistakably related to the Buddhist period. Flatness of the figure exhibiting very poor carving would suggest a late date.

The ceramic industry of *Damkot-V* bears striking resemblance with that of Charsada-I as represented in its layers 6-4. The most distinctive feature of our pottery from this level is the stamped notches-and-rosette pattern (our Fig. 38/391, 386) which has analogous examples from Charsada-I (Fig. 36, No. 327 and Fig. 38, No. 357). Indeed the analogy is so complete here that even the shape of some of the related pots (to which this kind of decoration is applied) appear to be the same from both sides.⁴ Another point of comparison may be seen in the striated lugs (compare Charsada, Fig. 37, No. 340 with our Fig. 42/450) though our example is striated all-over. The ram's head spout found at Charsada (Fig. 37, No. 341) and the one found by us (Fig. 41/436a, 437) suggest an identical idea and appear to be vaguely analogous, though our example is somewhat longish in shape. We may also compare triple leaf decoration (our Fig. 42/446, 447 and Charsada Fig. 44, No. 433) though at Charsada it was found in an earlier context and its continuity in a subsequent phase may only be visualized. The massive cooking tray of coarse fabric of which a large number of fragments was found by us has its counterpart from Charsada-I layer⁵ (6). Even the greater variety of rim formation in *Damkot-V* smacks of the tradition not unpo-

1. *Ibid.* P. 500.

2. Wheeler, PL XLIV, 2 and P. 124.

3. *Ibid.* P. 125.

4. Compare our Fig. 38, No. 391 with Charsada Fig. 36, No. 327.

5. Compare our Fig. 41, No. 431 with Charsada Fig. 36, No. 331. Wheeler observes that this is 'a type not uncommon in the layers of Islamic period'. See P. 80.

pular at Charsada at the comparable levels. Lastly we found a few sherds showing simple decoration consisting, largely, of alternating bands in white — a tradition which may correlate it with Charsada where 'a considerable quantity of simple decoration in white was found' in layer 6. Thus Damkot-V appears to be reasonably contemporary with Charsada 1 layers 6-4.

In his excavation Sir Mortimer did not find any coin at these levels, but with rare intuition he dated them 'as early as the eighth century A.D.'² We are fortunate in having coins of the Hindu Shahis — first of Sri Vakka Deva and then in close succession those of Sri Samanta Deva with billon currency of the latter on the top, at these levels confirming the dates already worked out independent of the evidence of coinage.³

Thus the convergent evidence of coins and other associated materials from Damkot-V would tend to suggest a dating which coincides with the beginning of the eighth to the end of the tenth century A.D. for this period.

4. THE STORY OF EXCAVATION

The month of March, 1968, was an auspicious time when the members of the Department of Archaeology University of Peshawar, busy in uncovering the archaeological wealth from Buddhist sites, almost tumbled upon this great fort of the Hindu Shahis. By this time rumours were in the air that many a Buddhist stupa has been robbed of their sculptural wealth and that antiquities were pouring out of these regions with astonishingly rapid speed. An officer had already been appointed by the state authorities to put a check to these unbridled robberies, but difficult terrain of the country presented big obstacles. At the invitation of the former Political Agent to Dir, Mr. Rahat Ullah, the Department, therefore, launched a campaign to retrieving the cultural wealth as much as possible, recording the sites, and excavating the remaining portions to have an intelligent probe into the otherwise much disturbed mounds. As a fair corollary to these efforts quite intact new sites also came to light. Thus with the headquarter at Chakdara, the Department undertook the excavation of Jabagai a few miles to the west of it. The road to Jabagai passed through Shamalai skirting the Damkot hill on its south. Meanwhile information about certain rock — carvings — *Buts* — was brought home. It was in connection with visiting

1. See our Fig. 41, No. 438 and also our pottery section and Wheeler, P. 80, No. 330.

2. Wheeler, Op Cit P. 80.

3. For details see 'the coins'.

such rock-carvings at Damkot that Prof. A.H. Dani with other colleagues picked up a new type of pottery scattered so profusely on slope of the hill. A further probe revealed huge mounds of accumulated cultural debris. Local enquiries revealed that plenty of coins come to light in the rainy season, when the torrential showers scratch away the upper surface. The site was worth investigation. A reconnaissance team consisting of the author and Mr. Farid Khan was arranged hurriedly and the 'Middle Peak' was selected for excavation to uncover the cultural sequence. Consequently, a rectangular area measuring 40x20 ft. consisting of two 20 ft. square trenches was marked on the top. In a few weeks' time, it was dug down to stratum (9) revealing four periods of successive occupation of the site, but the virgin soil was not reached. Along with that came to light the remains of a great defensive wall. Due to some urgent duties in the University, the excavation was suspended for a short time. In July again the work was resumed which took another three months to set the problems squarely.

The University deputed both of us to excavate but as Mr. Farid Khan was soon to be appointed as Director of the Peshawar Museum, it fell into my lot to write the entire report. However the views expressed in the following report represent both of us and together we stand responsible for its merits or demerits.

In the preparation of the work we owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. A.H. Dani for his untiring guidance in the field and revealing discussion on its various aspects. He neither spared time nor trouble in giving us assistance whenever we needed. We gratefully acknowledge his help and guidance. We are also indebted to Mr. Rahatullah and Mr. Jehanzeb Khan, the former Political Agents to Dir for their financial help and hospitality which they extended to us during our stay at Chakdara. Mr. Aurangzeb Khan, incharge of the Dir Museum, very kindly extended his help in carrying out the actual excavation by putting his Inspector, Mr. Mohammad Shirin, at our disposal who proved so helpful. The photographs were prepared by Mr. Mohammad Sabir and the drawings by Mr. Mohammad Daud, respectively photographer and draftsman of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar.

I. PLAN OF EXCAVATION

Our test excavation, restricted though it was, posed some interesting questions which could not be solved without further investigation. Therefore in the second season our three-month-long excavation was mainly directed towards solving these specific problems – viz, (i) establishing

full stratigraphical sequence of the site, (ii) relationship of the defensive wall with a certain horizon in that framework and (iii) the duration for which the defences were used. The results were extremely encouraging and fruitful and provided satisfactory answers. First of all, we took up the last two questions, as much of the sequence was already known from the trial excavation. Fully conscious of the fact that due to the peculiar situation of the fort on the hill slope, torrential rains, so common to this region, must have resulted in the denudation of upper strata at the peak and a corresponding accumulation of cultural debris on the lower slopes, trenches were laid on three different points against the outer face of the fortification wall and dug down to the bed-rock. The sequence of strata thus revealed, when equated with that known from the trial excavation, decisively proved that the defensive wall belonged to the last period of occupation on this site. A detailed account of all the three trenches, numbered as T.T.X, T.T.Y, T.T.Z is given below one by one. No valuable finds were made except pottery and a few arrow heads (of iron). The solitary coin (of Vasudeva II) found in T.T.X belongs to an earlier stratum, antedating the defensive wall.

(II) TRIAL TRENCH X (T.T.X)

This was laid perpendicular to the outer face of the defensive wall on the river side about 88' to south of the east corner bastion. (see map Fig. 8). Being on the lowest slope, a great heap of cultural debris had been accumulated on this spot mostly due to rain water which had also resulted in cutting a deep gully on one side damaging thereby the upper portion of a tower in the defensive wall (see Pl. XXI a). It was from this gully that careful observation revealed the stumps of defensive wall. The original trench measured 10'x10' but, then it was decided to enlarge it on the left and right along the fortification wall to gather more information. The story revealed was the same as already known, though, in negative. That was already expected. Thus layer (4) revealed stamped postsherds characteristic of St. (1) on the Middle Peak. It was quite clear therefore, that layers (1-4) were deposited after the defensive wall was no longer in use. Layer (5) was contemporary with it, whereas (6) and (7) antedated it. In layer (5) again were evidenced some repairs also. As already pointed out a coin of Vasudeva II was found embedded in layer (7) — stratigraphically earlier than the fortifications. The details are as follows:—

(SECTION: FIG. 9)

On the top is humus

St. (1) is represented by loose earth marked with sandy streaks dipping

towards the river. It lies against the defensive wall. Pottery types of Period IV and V were found mixed up. The reason of this mixing up is not altogether wanting. As already pointed a deep gully formed by rain water has been biting deep into the cultural debris only a little above this point resulting in the mixing up of this material. Some other spoil trenches again on the high slope have also contributed their share to it.

St. (2) is represented by a loose deposit of brownish earth having streaks of potsherds near the wall. On the whole the potsherds are tiny and abraded probably due to falling down the hill side. Fragments of bones were also noted. Pottery types are similar to those of Period V. It is dipping towards the river.

St. (3) is loose brownish earth having sandy streaks with occasional charcoal pieces and bone fragments, dips markedly towards the river. There were a few blocks of stone apparently fallen from above. It yielded abundant pottery comparable to that of Period V.

St. (4) is cultural debris consisting of loose earth and fallen blocks of stone. Due to the greater proportion of charcoal and ashes the soil has changed its colour from brownish to greyish. The blocks are roughly dressed on the one side and appear to have fallen from the defensive wall. It is resting against the wall and appears to have accumulated just after its abandonment. Evidence of destruction is writ large in the material contents of this layer. Potsherds are very scanty. A few sherds of stamped bowls can be equated with those from St. (1) of the test excavation. On the bottom of this layer and lying in a corner were found as much as sixty sling stones, (Pl. 86 b) largely rounded river pebbles.

St. (5) is represented by tightly packed earth and chips of stone with very occasional sherds of pottery. It may be debris of some subsequent restoration or repair done to the wall. Also related to it is small ramp of three courses of stone blocks, probably constructed to strengthen the fortification. Whether this restoration took place just after the completion of the defensive wall or at a much later date, is not clear, though the latter will be closer to reason. It is partly contemporary with the wall.

St. (6) water laid deposit of brownish earth and charcoal pieces with tiny fragments of pottery. Dipping towards the river side. The layer antedates defences.

St. (7) cultural refuse probably deposited by rain water with few stones

and a correspondingly meagre number of potsherds resembling those from Period III, above. The most significant find made at the bottom of this layer was a copper coin of Vasudeva II (see coins, No. 11) which proved that the defences were made long after the said coin got embedded there.

Below this is hill wash — natural deposit.

III-TRIAL TRENCH 'Y' (T.T.Y.)

This was laid perpendicular to the north-western fringe of the Middle Peak at a point (see map, Fig. 8) which appeared to have been well preserved. The original trench measured 10'x10' but, after the defensive wall came to light, it was extended all along it at the Middle Peak, in order to expose the external face of the wall. Here it was found that the stump of wall visible in the section, probably a later restoration was resting directly upon layer (4) which yielded fragments of schist and potsherds similar to those of Period IV. Below that was found a trilobe arrow-head (of iron) typical of the Kushana levels (Period III) at this site. There was a large concentration of ashes and charcoal in the upper two strata. The details are as follows:—

(SECTION: FIG. 10)

Top is covered by humus.

St. (1) is a most recent deposit, (of the British period) consisting of loose earth, ashes and charcoal, and a large number of rectangular blocks of stone. This is indeed the cultural debris related to the top stratum dug into by the British soldiers who not only extracted stones but also filled up the irregularities and ditches on the top to get a level surface. Potsherds with stamped patterns were found in plentiful numbers.

St. 1-a) is a thick layer of brownish earth mixed with charcoal mostly washed down from the top and partly fallen from the neighbouring structures. Dipping towards the north-west, it appears to have accumulated after the destruction of the defensive wall. Potsherds are very scanty.

St. (2) is cultural refuse consisting of compact brownish earth and potsherds with occasional pockets of ashes and bones. It is contemporary with the second building phase of Period V. The layer is markedly dipping towards the north-west.

St. (3) is compact gritty earth mixed with stones and abundant potsherds comparable to those of Period V. It appears to be a cultural refuse of the first building phase of the Hindu Shahi period. The foundation of the stump of wall visible in the section — a later addition to the defensive wall — cuts through it. A few fragments of iron nails and several arrow-heads of the square-sectioned tanged type were found embedded in it.

St. (4) is again cultural refuse. The later addition to the defensive wall, as already noted above, is resting directly upon this layer. The main pottery types of which fragments of goblet-on-stand were numerous is typical of Period IV. It produced pieces of schist and fragments of granitic stone — probably refuse of the building material used in the neighbouring walls.

St. (5) is represented by compact tightly packed earth lying directly upon the bed rock. Fragments of stone were again abundant. It is difficult indeed to tell it from the overlapping stratum except on the basis of a thin streak of ashes, sandwiched between the two, and somewhat different contents e.g. trilobe arrowheads, characteristic of the Kushana period on this site. The main pottery types are comparable to those of Period III.

IV — TRIAL TRENCH 'Z' (T.T.Z.)

This trench, measuring 10'x10' was laid against the outer face of the north-eastern side of the defensive wall, almost half way down the slope. This was presumably the most vulnerable point and archaeologically most important due to its nearness to the supposed entrance. Furthermore, it can be easily approached from the flattened tongue of the hill mentioned above. The sequence of strata and the remains of actual walls revealed that in the last phase of its reconstruction it was almost doubled in its original size and that repairs were done in between. Much of the potsherds in the upper strata appear to have been mixed up and redeposited by rain water or otherwise, subsequent to the abandonment of this fort. In layer (7), the lowest of all, was found a square-sectioned arrow-head typical of the Hindu Shahi levels on this site. The details are as follows:—

(SECTION: FIG. 11)

Top is covered by humus

St. (1) is a thick deposit of loose brownish earth with mixed pottery types of periods IV and V probably washed down by rain water from Churchill Point. There are several sandy streaks running parallel to the wall, deposited after the abandonment of the fortifications.

St. (2) is represented by brownish earth with large number of roughly hewn blocks of stone, abundant charcoal and streaks of ashes. Violent destruction rather than gradual decay of this portion of the wall is very clear as witnessed in the crumbling stones. There were very few potsherds.

St. (3) is represented by a thin deposit of one foot depth — compact and resting against the defensive wall. Potsherds were quite ample. The main pottery types (stamped pattern) suggest its contemporaneity with the wall. An important find was an arrow-head of the square-sectioned tanged type.

St. (4) is debris consisting of stone fragments, probably discarded material, and compact earth with little pottery. On the inside of the defensive wall this layer partly passes below the later addition with which it appears to be partly contemporary. Very few potsherds.

St. (5) is loose earth with a fair scatter of charcoal pieces and ample potsherds comparable to Period V.

St. (6) is one and half foot thick deposit of compact earth with scanty pottery and abundant stone fragments suggestive of a minor repair.

St. (7) is represented by one foot thick deposit consisting of loose brownish earth and abundant pottery comparable to that of Period V. Here again was found a square-sectioned arrow-head. It is resting against the defensive wall.

Below that is bedrock.

V — THE MIDDLE PEAK

The problem of the citadel wall having settled conclusively, it was then decided to (i) uncover the full stratigraphical sequence giving, at the same time, (ii) more spacial extension to the Hindu Shahi levels to have an extensive idea of their cultural equipment. The small plateau on the Middle Peak was selected for this purpose. It was already partly excavated during our trial excavation. A word about the shape of the mound would be appropriate here. From the distance it looks like a huge hump placed in the middle of the hill with a somewhat flattened north-west side and enveloped in a thick cover of vegetation. A closer view, however, reveals that the accumulation of cultural debris together with several building phases,

as seen in the stumps of masonry walls still peeping through the grasses, have, ultimately resulted in the formation of this plateau which, at present, rises in two terraces — the northern half (henceforth to be called Area A) is fifteen feet higher than the southern zone (henceforth, Area B). The dividing line is marked by a rock wall (to be described below). At both the areas digging was carried out simultaneously. These are described below.

VI — AREA 'A'

(Stratigraphy and structures)

It is almost oval in shape and measures 190'x100' at the maximum points, though its width narrows down to within 80' on the south-west. In the western corner a rocky out-crop rises about four feet above the general level. (Presently, part of it is occupied by the watchman's hut). At the time of our excavation it accommodated a picket built of stones extracted from the ancient structures which has resulted in the disturbed strata at several points. Also during their exercises the army people have dug small trenches here and there. These could be easily located, however, and the debris thrown around was cleared first. In general the top surface gently slopes towards Area B, which also received its drainage, though at certain points, rain water had cut deep into the cultural debris washing down their contents as well.

Taking the trial trenches as focal point and their alignment and dimensions as guide lines, a rectangular area measuring 100' on the north-east and 120' on the south-east was marked for excavation. The whole was then reduced into a grid of trenches (each 20' sq.) Zero point was fixed in the south and trenches were marked A, B, C, D, E and F along the longer side and 1, 2, 3 and 4 on the smaller side of this rectangle. According to this scheme the trial trenches were renumbered C2 and D2. The details are as follows:—

SECTION: FIG. 12

(After removing humus and the dislocated and disturbed debris by the British period trenching and levelling which yielded coins of the East India Company):

St. (1) marks an occupation — level at the bottom, the upper portion being washed down in squares C0 and D0, while in other trenches situated in the northern quarter of the rectangle, where deposit of debris and cultural refuse was very thin due to the rocks being very near the surface, it is com-

pletely gone leaving part of the rocky out-crop bare so that it is visible on the surface. A four feet thick deposit, in square C1, consisting of loose earth having larger percentage of charcoal and ashes with several blocks of granitic stones, — probably belonging to the neighbouring walls — appears to be a filling of the British period. Only one foot below the surface was found a coin of the East India Company. Here it was probably a deep cut made by rain water amply demonstrated on Area B where much of the small bits of pottery, charcoal and fragments of bones were deposited tightly packed together right below this point (see below 'Area B'). The material for filling was evidently taken from the debris around there. In square D2 traces of an oven measuring $2' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'$ on the bottom were seen. Two rectangular slabs of granite, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}' \times 1'$ and $1.7' \times 2'$, placed side by side and a third standing on edge marked a washing place. Top of this level is marked by fallen stone blocks and large proportion of ashes and charred wood which apparently accumulated at the time of destruction of several structures, or just after that. Rounded river pebbles ranging from 2" to 3" in diameter were found in abundant number scattered all over. It yielded large number of potsherds with stamped designs and as much as nine arrow-heads of the rectangular-sectioned type. Two copper coins of Sri Samanta Deva of the lion and elephant type were found in squares C0 and A2 and a billon coin of the Bull and Horseman type with the same legend (see Pl. 87 a. 12) was found just on the top and in association with the defensive wall in TR E. 4. In the same trench the defensive wall appears to have been strengthened, along the lower portion, by the addition of new structures (Pl. 69 a. and b.). Down below on the slope (towards the Churchill Point) was exposed an ironsmith's shop with the kit of tools *in situ*. It measured $18' \times 13\frac{1}{2}'$ and opened towards the north-east (see Fig. 8). Closeby were revealed several perforated stone slabs built in the wall and, at the same time, projecting externally probably used for tethering horses. This part is, again, covered by an ashy layer which indicates violent destruction. Most of the structures of the preceding period continued to be used. Masonry is of the rough diaper type without any indication of mortar or any other cohesive.

St. (2) is brownish in colour and marks a regular occupation level with several fragments of pottery oven or cooking-trays of burnt clay found on the floor. In square D3 a similar oven measuring $1' \times 1'$ in the middle was found in a fragmentary condition above an earlier wall. The layer is well represented in squares C3 and D2 where it contained several undressed stones of varying sizes and similar other fragments and refuse which gave the impression of discarded material. Here it marks a new building phase as well as major alterations in the formerly existing structures. In squares

C0 and D0 it is represented by a thin deposit and appears to have been mostly washed down. In general it covered the walls and other structures belonging to an earlier period except where they were re-used. In the corner of square C0 was found a grinding mill stone in association with a wall which appears to have been re-used in this period. In the eastern corner of this rectangle, marked for excavation, a small room belonging to an earlier period appears to have been completely filled up and a soak-pit (Pl. 68 a.) (dia. 3') lined with undressed stones was sunk to a depth of six feet from the surface. Another soak-pit with similar diameter and stone lining, sunk to a depth of two and a half feet, was seen in square F2. On the west it was joined by a small drain which could not be investigated. Another drain (Pl. 68 b.) 10" wide and covered with stone slabs was traced to four feet of its length where it disappeared under a wall belonging to the last building phase.

Pottery was found in plentiful numbers. Potsherds with stamped rosettes and concentric circles being most distinctive. Thirteen arrow-heads of the square-sectioned tanged type were found embedded in this stratum. One copper coin (Pl. 87 a. 10) of the Lion and Elephant type with the legend Sri Vakka Deva came to light in trench D4. A copper coin of Kanishka (out of context) was found in square D1 (the place is disturbed by British period trenching).

Most of the buildings related to Period V were erected afresh or reconstructed in this phase. Some of the old existing structures where they were in line with the requirements of the new masters were made use of (Pl. 69 a.) whereas the others were pulled down to get a level surface. The defensive wall, along with those of the inner enclosures, was constructed for the first time with foundations lying on bed rock. Around the rocky outcrop, referred to above, was thrown another tapering wall strengthened with circular towers (Pl. 70 a.) using the earlier structures as solid foundations.

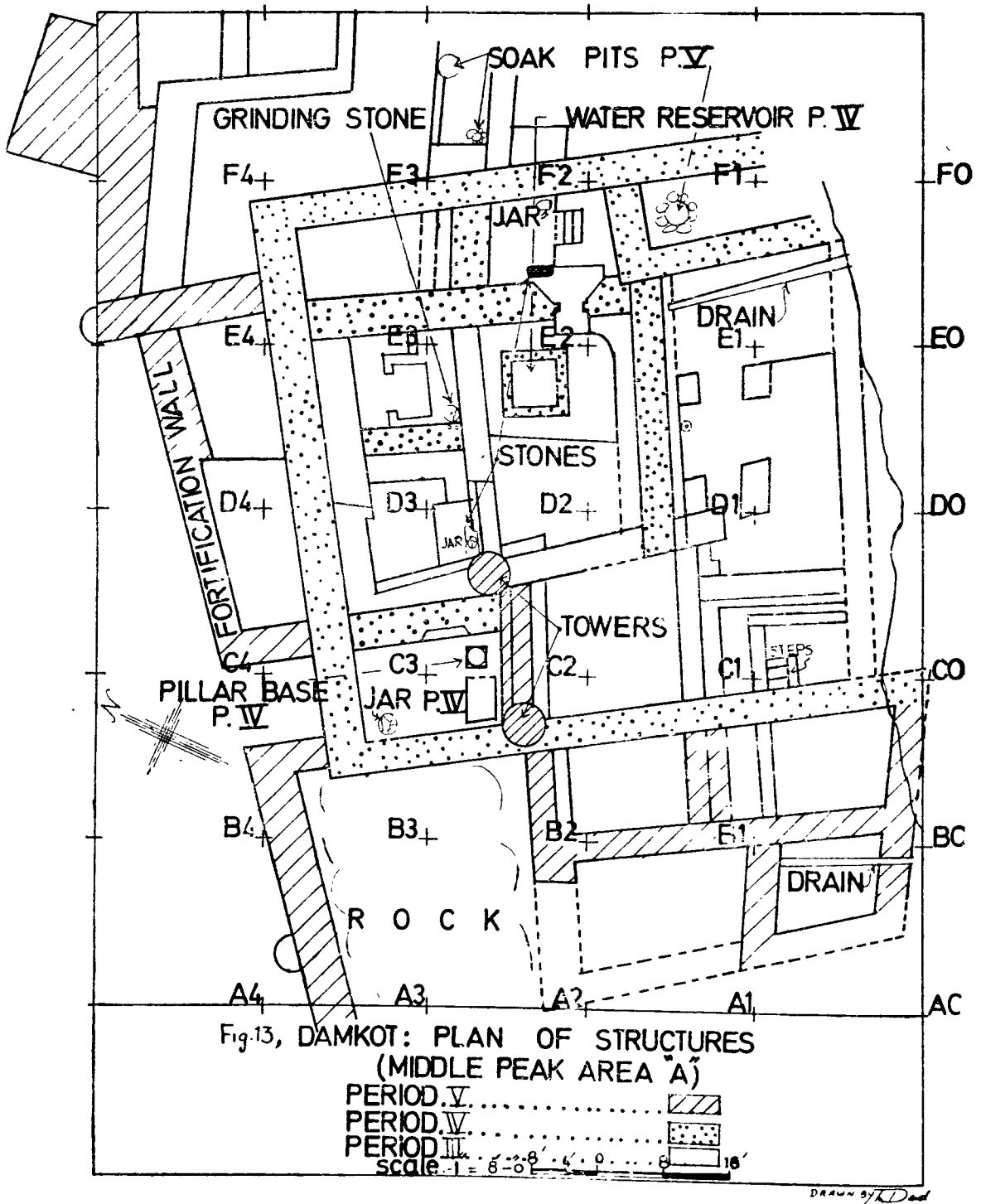
St. (3) contains ashes and a fair sprinkling of bone fragments.

It is compact earth and its thickness varies from 6" to 1' in different trenches. Two super-imposed floor levels of beaten earth were found in square D3 associated with walls of the adjoining room. In the underlying floor were exposed three pieces of a sculptured panel of schist (Pl. 97 a. No. 3) in fragmentary condition in the same trench. Most important, however, are two lamps of soap stone — one having Buddha carved in low-relief on its bottom. (See lamps, Fig. 17 Nos. 8, 9). Other fragments of

schist of which an appreciable number was recorded at this level were either unworked or too fragmentary to give an idea of the nature of sculpture they belonged to. In most trenches this layer was found resting against masonry walls of stone built in diaper fashion. Of the structures related to it most important is the 'water reservoir' (Pl. 71 a.) in square DZ. Found almost at the bottom of this reservoir the most notable finds were a clay head of Buddha and a terracotta plaque depicting Buddha flanked by leoglyphs, in low-relief (see title cover). A little higher than this, though in the same reservoir, came to light a bronze coin mould (Pl. 88 a.) and moulded plaque of cast copper depicting a flame halo and devotees found in a fragmentary condition (Pl. 92 b.). In square C2 was found a much damaged storage vessel embedded in the floor (Pl. 71 b.). No coin came to light. All this cultural material stratigraphically antedates the construction of the citadel wall. Distinctive pottery type was the goblet-on-stand. The extensive robbing of structure indicates that the site was abandoned after the accumulation of layer (3). No associated strata representing this wide break (our Gap i) came to light in Area A where it might have been washed down. The evidence is well documented in Area B below.

St. (4) represents a regular occupation at the top but there are signs of a debris of miscellaneous nature consisting of fragmentary stones with brownish earth and occasional ashes. In general it represents another building phase with new structural additions and major alterations in the former buildings, though their alignment remained the same. In TR. C2 part of the floor level is fairly well preserved and is marked by a large grinding millstone (Pl. 72 a.) in square D2. Similarly in squares B3 and D2 were found two storage vessels of large size standing along the walls. In square C2 was uncovered a schist base of a column (Pl. 72 b.). Goblet-on-stand in a variety of forms came up as the distinctive pottery type. A drain, 1'x1" wide, with stone lining was uncovered in square E0 and E1. There coins of Vasudeva are recorded from this level (coins serial Nos. 12, 13, 14). Of them two were found in a mixed deposit.

Spacious rooms with fairly well preserved walls built in diaper masonry covered a rectangular area measuring 66'x64'. It was enclosed by a 4 feet thick wall which appears to have been built first and then along its north-west side, covering the full length, were built four rooms of varying sizes (Pl. 73 a., Fig. 13). Two other rooms were then added — one adjoining room No. 4 and the other in the eastern corner leaving a small passage in between. Their measurements are as follows:—



Room No. 1	=	16x17 feet.
Room No. 2	=	16x16 "
Room No. 3	=	16x12 "
Room No. 4	=	16x10 "
Room No. 5	}	= much damaged.
Room No. 6		

After sometime the passage was blocked by the construction of 'water reservoir', referred to above. The water reservoir measures 5' 9" feet sq. and 12' 6" in depth. Along the south-western arm of this rectangle a masonry stairway (Pl. 74 a.) was added of which only the lower three steps remain in tact. At the base it covers 11'x9½' area, the existing height is 4 feet. It exhibits poor diaper masonry. The core consists of rubble with outer dressing of rectangular blocks. The deep cut made by rain water passed, as already noted above, on top of this stairway causing it considerable damage.

Average thickness of the walls related to this period ranges from 3 to 4½ feet and their surviving height varies from 1-4 feet. It is astonishing to note that none of the rooms, mentioned above, had any entrance. Evidently the structural remains are no more than foundations of which the superstructures have disappeared.

The then level of the area covered by squares D0, C0 and part of E0 was still lower by three feet than the general ground level covered by the above mentioned rooms. Therefore a straight wall, 3' 6" in thickness, was thrown from north-east to south-west across the rectangular area dividing the lower zone from the upper one. Thus the entire enclosed area was divided into nearly two halves — the upper plane (i.e. the north-western half) accommodating a building complex resembling a monastery and the lower one being occupied by a pillared hall.

The pillared hall (see Plan, Fig. 13), measuring 22'x36' is surrounded by walls on all the four sides, the existing height of which varies from 1 to 3 feet. There are two rows of five masonry pillar bases, measuring 3' 4" sq. on the average. Their centres were placed at equal distance from each other. One of these bases appears to have been repaired so that 1' 8" area was added subsequently. They exhibit rubble masonry and appear to be foundations of a superstructure of some magnitude of which no other evidence was found. It is likely, however, that the column base, referred to above, belonged to this hall.

St. (5) seems to be an occupation level though in some trenches there are thin streaks of ashes and charcoal mixed with floor of beaten earth with occasional patches of burnt red clay probably indicating hearth or oven. Pottery was again in plentiful numbers. The association of this stratum with structural remains was quite clear in squares D2 and D3. Their existing height is no more than one foot at the height point. In square D3 it passes under a wall of Period IV (Pl. 73 b.).

The most distinctive feature characterising the top of this occupation level is the occurrence of a coin of Vasudeva II (Pl. 87 a. 9) in square D1. Almost at the bottom of this layer and embedded in ashy streaks which marked floor level in squares D2 and D3 were found six copper coins (Pl. 87 a. 2-6, 8) of Kanishka. Most of the arrow-heads of the trilobe type belong to this level. Glass bangles were found in abundant numbers.

St. (6) consisting of a thick deposit of brownish earth and stone fragments, it represents a regular occupation level. Structural remains are few. In the baulk marking C2 and D2 was noted a wall of this period showing diaper masonry. It was in association with this wall that a coin of Wima (Pl. 87 a. 1) was found. Below that we mainly depend, for our information, upon the stratigraphical sequence exposed in trench D2 dug down to the virgin soil. It should be pointed out that the area investigated was necessarily small as some of the structures revealed during deep digging could not be removed. A marked difference in the composition of layers from this level downwards was observed. In striking contrast to the upper levels consisting, largely, of ashes, charcoal or mixed debris with loose earth, these levels, down to the 2nd Gap consisted of compact clayey material resembling that in the Shamalai Valley down below. The associated structures were too scanty to give any systematic pattern of houses.

St. (7) constitutes an occupation level consisting of compact clayey material mixed with grits and very occasional charcoal pieces. Two stumps of walls showing beautiful diaper masonry were found associated with it. The most distinctive of the potsherds found at this level are those of pedestal-bowl (our Fashion Ware) with their section very often approaching egg-shell thickness and having black painted designs including peacock and sun-flower. A large storage vessel with cordoned body and covered by a stone disc was also found in the northern corner of sq. D2 (Pl. 75 a.). Again in the same trench was found in a pit a square copper coin worn off beyond identification (see coins, serial No. 1), traces of a fire-place were observed in a small patch of earth burnt red; it may be an oven, though the shape could not be determined.

St. (8) again an occupation level consisting of compact clayey material and scant pieces of charcoal. The bowl with black-painted peacock and sun-flower remains the distinctive pottery type, as noted above. A notable find was the torso of a terracotta double moulded female figurine from D2.

(St. (9) is a thin layer of compact clayey material with occasional bones and ashes. It lies upon the stone filling — 2nd Gap and is not regular throughout; in the middle of the trench it almost disappears. It yielded the earliest fragments of the pedestalled bowl with peacock motif.

St. (10) Break Period (2nd Gap) represents a thick deposit of stones mixed with gritty soil of reddish colour and hill-wash including small fragments of local granitic stone. It runs regularly throughout the excavated portion of this trench (Pl. 74 b.). Evidently it is a natural filling, with very occasional potsherds, subsequently levelled on the top. Most significantly this deposit seals off the lower strata from those above this level. Here it marks a break in the sequence of occupational strata.

St. (11) represents cultural debris consisting of hill washed gravels and brownish earth with abundant ashes and charcoal. No metal object was found except a few fragments of a heavily patinated copper sheet. Most significant, however, is the pottery almost one-third of the total potsherds are characterized by grey, grey-brown or black colour. The grey ware, in most examples, is made on slow wheel and carefully burnished though a small number of potsherds appear to have been made on fast wheel. Mat-impression in the form of the spiral on the bottom of many pots is also characteristic of grey ware. The remaining potsherds belong to red ware. Other important finds are three polished stones (Fig. 18, No. 4-6), a schist bead (Pl. 91 a. 2) and a fragment of a carved saucer (Fig. 17, No. 10).

St. (12) again hill-washed gravels topped with clayey material such as is plentiful on the hill top. Tiny fragments of bones and charcoal pieces were quite abundant. Again grey ware is the distinctive pottery. No associated structures came to light, though the deep hollow (as this place appear to be after the removal of occupying strata) protected by high rocks on three sides resembles a rock-shelter.

St. (13) Natural deposit. Consists of reddish earth and hill washed gravel covering in bed-rock. It is a natural deposit.

VII — AREA 'B'

(Stratigraphy and structure)

As noted above, Area 'B' received the drainage of Area 'A' being 10'-15' lower than the latter. Consequently rain water and several phases of rock-fall have done considerable damage to the structures and particularly the enclosure wall with the result that much of it on the south-eastern side has disappeared. Similarly cultural debris washed down from above continued to accumulate till recent times, covering consequently the whole of the stupa and later structures. The upper surface of the mound, therefore, markedly slopes towards south-east (Pl. 75 b.). Huge rocks perched on the fringe of Area 'A' adjoining to it have been a constant threat to its occupants. At the time of our excavation the top level was almost fully covered by them and they had to be cut into pieces (Pl. 76 a.) and removed before excavation could be started.

At the maximum points Area B measures 170'x80' and narrows down in the south corner where a flight of masonry steps provide access to Area A above.

Incidentally erosion had revealed a stump of wall in the eastern corner. Zero point was fixed here and a rectangular area measuring 80' along the south-east side and 40' along the north-east side was marked for excavation. The whole was then reduced into 20' sq. trenches. Thus two parallel rows of trenches numbered 'A' and 'B' were obtained. Along the longer side the squares were marked 1, 2 and 3 (see Fig. 14). It was a happy coincidence that the area thus marked for excavation coincide with the area formerly enclosed for stupa.

Four main periods were recognised and equated with Periods II-V of area A. The occurrence of pedestalled bowl with black painted peacock conclusively proved that the earliest occupation (Period IV) here was comparable to Period II of Area A and thus datable to the 1st century B.C. It continued to be occupied in the succeeding Kushana period. Sometime in the late Kushana period, probably in the time of Vasudeva II, the site was converted into a stupa but probably at the end of the fifth century A.D. it met with a catastrophic end.¹ The site was abandoned till the arrival of the

1. There is no significant evidence of catastrophic end (see below). All that is clear from the excavation report is that there was the rock fall and debris washed down from the upper terrace.

This may be a cause of the abandonment of the site. But there does not seem to be any long gap. —Editor.

Hindu Shahis in the eighth century A.D. In the time of the Hindu Shahi occupation (i.e. Vakka Deva) part of the stupa was pulled down to accommodate secular buildings. After removing the huge rocks and humus the stratigraphic sequence revealed there is as follows:—

St. (1) is a thick layer of loose soil with profuse potsherds which appear to have been largely washed down from Area A, above. There is a pocket of tightly packed sherds in B1, again deposited by rain water. The antiquities include a much damaged hand (of Bodhisattva) and the characteristic stamped pottery. This layer came to be deposited after the final abandonment of this site, and thins out as it slopes to the east corner.

St. (2) is represented by patches of hill wash and huge rocks fallen from Area A. It is not regular throughout. It was with great difficulty that the huge rocks were broken and removed. Deposited after the final abandonment.

St. (3) is an occupation level. In sq. B0 it is represented by two superimposed living floors of rammed earth associated with structures. The uppermost of these two floors is marked by a smith's workshop (Pl. 76 b.). Found in association with this floor level an open mouthed bowl probably meant for keeping water for cooling down metal objects after they were heated and hammered into shape and a small furnace. At the same level were found three small vessels, with stamped decoration, lying upon an offset of the adjoining wall (Pl. 77 a.). Exactly one foot below it, the other living floor is marked by flattish stone slabs with scratches made by metal implements, probably, while sharpening them. Ashes and charcoal occurred profusely and represent, mainly, domestic rubbish. In sq. B1 and B2, where no associated structures were found, it is represented by a thick deposit of domestic rubbish consisting of compact brownish soil, and ashes accumulated against the stupa on the north and west. In this filling of miscellaneous nature, and in the room mentioned above, were found three lamps of schist (Pl. 95, 1, 3, 6).

The stupa itself appears to have been hidden by this time. Therefore some of the structures related to this stratum pass over it. (Pl. 87 b.). Of the exposed structures as many as eight rooms — all doorless, of varying sizes (see plan Fig. 14) can be recognised. Thickness of walls ranges from 2' 6". Rough diaper masonry characteristic of the late structures upon this site is noteworthy.

St. (3-a) is again an occupation level associated with masonry walls rest-

ing directly over the paved floor of the stupa, (Pl. 83 a.). In the southern half of B0 the paved circumambulation path of the stupa was used as living floor (Pl. 79 a.). It should be pointed out that this part of B0 was subjected to maximum denudation due to its peculiar situation on the outskirts of Area B. Used in these structures can be seen several carefully dressed ashlar blocks (which once formed upper tier of the stupa) and other sculptured schist panels. Other three walls connected with each other in the shape of a room (measuring 12'x18') were seen in squares A2 and A3. In the east corner of square B3 was found a big storage vessels with cordoned body (Pl. 79 b.). Another room measuring 14'x15' related to this stratum, and found in a better state of preservation was seen in squares B0 and A0, partly covering the northward extension of these trenches. Apart from the potsherds with stamped concentric circles the most important find was a copper coin of the Lion and Elephant type with the legend Sri Vakka Deva found only few inches above the stupa floor in square A1 (Pl. 87 a. 9). It is noteworthy that southern half of sq. A1 is much denuded of its contents as the retaining wall which supported it on the outside collapsed long ago. It was here that we first saw a corner of the stupa before excavation.

St. (4) intermediate between the stupa period and the formation of stratum (3-a), there is a thick layer of accumulated debris of miscellaneous nature (Pl. 77 b.) with tightly packed streaks of potsherds which appear to have been washed down from Area A above, and some ashlar blocks fallen from the stupa itself. At this time there occurred a rockfall as well and consequently huge rocks came tumbling down to rest upon the paved floor of the stupa in square B1 and B0 (Pls. 80 a. and b.). In the succeeding period it was used as a support for new structures. The great proportion of ashes, charcoal and pockets of potsherds suggest destruction¹ as well as abandonment for a considerable length of time.

St. (5) represents an occupation level marked by a stupa, with paved floor, a small cell (Pl. 80 b.) to the north of the stupa and an enclosure wall all around this sacred area. The circumambulation path built of rectangular granitic slabs of varying sizes is found fairly well preserved except in the south and east corners where it was completely robbed or washed down by rain water. It measures 5' 5" on the south-east side and covers slightly wider area on the north and west marked by the enclosure wall. Only the inner face of this wall could be exposed.

1. This is the only place where the excavator found some charcoal and ash in the excavation in this period. The accumulated deposit of debris and pottery need not suggest destruction. The charcoal and ash could as well be wash from the upper terrace —Editor.

As it stands, the stupa is about 9' feet in height and rests upon an almost square base measuring 23' 8" a side (Fig. 14). It rises into two diminishing tiers (Pl. 81 a.). The top most tier was probably originally crowned by an umbrella of which two pieces were found. The lower one is marked with a moulding at the bottom and a cornice supported by projecting brackets on the top. It is decorated with a series of simple pilasters. The second tier is plain. The core of the stupa is built of rubble stones. The outer facing, however, consists of carefully dressed ashlar blocks of granite. On the east a flight of steps leads to the top of the stupa.

Owing to their exposure to the changing weather conditions for a long time, the ashlar blocks used in the lower tier underwent tremendous weathering (Pl. 81 b.). It is evident that the coating of lime plaster (Pl. 82 a.), half an inch thick, was done at a date subsequent to the original construction of the stupa. Then also repairs were made in the circumambulation path where some of the blocks had sunk down by 2 to 3 inches below its actual level. The irregularities thus created (upon the surface) were filled up by lime plaster. Also at this stage was constructed a small cell referred to above, cutting a portion of the paved floor.

Associated with the stupa and lying directly on the paved floor in square A2 was found a figure of Buddha seated upon an inverted lotus throne sculptured in schist (see Pl. 96, No. 188), and a Bodhisattva head with elaborate head dress much worn. Upon the steps was found a marble hand of a Bodhisattva. Apparently the stupa was completely deprived of its sculptural wealth, which it must have once contained, as evidenced in some schist fragments depicting folds of drapery in low-relief found on the lower slope, long before it came to be buried under the debris.

For the rest of our information we depend upon two small trenches, here named as Deep Digging I (D.D. I) and Deep Digging II (D.D. II). The former, measuring 6' 10"x12' was sunk in square A0 to the total depth (as measured from the paved floor) of 5' 4" down to the bed rock. It is in this trench that most of the sherds of the pedestalled bowl depicting black painted peacock were found. D.D. II, measuring 12'x11', was sunk in square A2 to a depth of 4' 7", reaching the bedrock. The paved floor was already damaged here.

St. (6) is represented by a small deposit accumulated in the doorway in the underlying wall which served as a solid foundation for the stupa (Pl. 82 b.). Consisting of loose brownish earth with occasional traces of ashes

and abundant potsherds, it came to be deposited after the pre-Stupa period structures were pulled down to accommodate the stupa itself.

St. (7) again represents an occupation level consisting of brownish earth and profuse potsherds. It was found associated with structures revealing diaper masonry in D.D. II as well as in D.D. I. The structures could not be traced further due to the overlying stupa floor.

St. (8) is an occupation level marked by two grinding mill-stones and a rectangular sitting bench of slabs measuring 1'x1'x6" in D.I. II (Pl. 83 b.). At the same level was found a much damaged storage vessel, the actual size of which could not be determined. At the maximum it is 1' 7" in thickness and consists of brownish loose earth with small amount of ashes and charcoal. The significant find made at this level, in D.D.I, was the large number of fashion ware potsherds. Only two such sherds came up in D.D. II. Thus layer (8) can be equated with Period II of Area A.

V — THE DEFENSIVE WALL

(a) General features:

- 1) Its foundations lie directly on the bed rock, and is strengthened, at places, with sloping ramps.
- 2) It generally follows steep contours and vertical rocks, the concomitant natural protection provided by them being exploited to the maximum.
- 3) The core consists of rubble and mud with external dressing of roughly shaped blocks arranged in rough diaper fashion.
- 4) Externally, it tapers upward and is strengthened by built-in semi-circular towers and rectangular bastions.
- 5) The wall is brought down, to within fifty feet of the river, in a zigzag way probably to ensure water supply.
- 6) Thickness of the wall varies according to the strategic position and the contour of rocks, being four feet on the average. At the vulnerable points, particularly on the north-east side, it appears to have been almost doubled its original size at some subsequent period.

- 7) It forms an irregular rectangle and measures above 3300 feet along the four sides. (At some points it could not be traced and the measurements were taken approximately on the most probable places).
- 8) At no point it is preserved to its top.
- 9) The repairs are not uniform all over; the strategic points being regularly repaired.
- 10) The 'Churchill Point' and the 'Middle Peak' which probably housed the most important buildings were each put in a separate inner enclosure.
- 11) The towering eminence of 'the Churchill Point' also guarded the Main Entrance.

(b) Description: (See Fig. 8)

We shall start from the 'Churchill Point' and move on along the north-western arm of this rectangle.

Right under our feet we see that the defensive wall, after skirting the Churchill Point on its north along the 400 feet contour line drops gradually to a little above one hundred feet to span a broad scoop in the hill-side and, further on, touches the 300 feet contour line to join a square bastion (measuring 19'x19') with a built-in tower in the western corner. From here the wall ascends towards the 'Middle Peak' after taking two sharp turns the upper one being strengthened by a semi-circular corner tower (5' in diameter) (Pl. 84 a.). The external facing and top of the wall around the 'Churchill Point' has disappeared since long though its core still stands sufficiently high ranging from 6 to 8 feet at places to give an idea of what it originally might have been. It follows, moreover, an unscaleable precipitous height at this point which adds much to its strength — a feature fully perceived by the British army, who later on selected this point for constructing a singal-post in the midst of a hostile country. Thickness of the wall, here, varies from 3½ to 5 feet and, in general, exhibits poor diaper masonry characteristic of the Hindu Shahi levels at this site — featureless and forbidding but, at the same time, speaking of strength and solidity.

Here also can be seen the most extensive repairs and additions under which the original wall remained hidden for a long time only to be exposed,

more recently, by the British soldiers who needed blocks of stone for constructing their own pickets, and, incidentally, found it as an excellent quarry quite at hand. Several blocks of roughly hewn stones used in the walling and particularly in the lower courses of the signal-post are a sufficient testimony to the damage done to it. Part of the wall was used as a firm foundation for the new structure.

After reaching the 'Middle Peak' we shall pause for a moment and look back towards the 'Churchill Point' to find, right under our feet, a walled structure (see Fig. 8) with similar towers and masonry running towards it. The whole of it, taken together with part of the defensive wall, we have already seen, would appear to be a rough triangle with somewhat irregular western arm. If the finds can be relied upon as an index to the function of a particular place, we can confidently suggest that the triangular area thus marked housed a stable as indicated by built-in perforated slabs projecting from the walls which appear to have been used for tethering horses. An iron-smith's shop was also found with complete kit of tools (Fig. 15, Nos. 3-9) in this area. Stratigraphically these are related to the last occupational level (Period V).

Along the north-western fringe of the 'Middle Peak', the defensive wall runs, for 250' in a zigzag way, frequently re-inforced by bastions and circular towers (Pls. 69 b. and 70 a.). Here it gently tapers upward and stands to a height of 9 to 11 feet. Here again some later additions are noticed which appear to have given it exceptional strength and solidity. The reason for this reinforcement may be the important position of this peak. Our trial trench 'Y' was laid here.

From the western corner of the Middle Peak, the wall drops down to within fifty feet and then stretches, for 217' across a broad saddle marked by the 'Middle Peak' on the one side and the 'West Peak' on the other. Here, it was buried deep under debris and had to be traced out at certain points. It appears that the original $4\frac{1}{2}'$ thick wall was reinforced by a three feet addition at some subsequent date. A little bit of careful observation would reveal two rows of several rooms along the inner face of this wall. The diaper masonry is the same which we have noted above.

After skirting the conical rocky eminence which the 'West Peak' is, the wall first turns due south and follows a precipitous rocky wall for a distance of 187 feet, and then towards south-west where it travels along the crest line of the hill for nearly 212' and joins an almost dilapidated corner bastion. Here, on our right we shall find that the Damkot hill abruptly

ends and stoops low to meet the main ridge — the point from where the modern road passes. Parenthetically it may be noted that due to its proximity to the road, this part of the defensive wall has been subjected to much plundering by the road builders.

From the corner bastion mentioned above it drops south-ward down to the 300' contour line, where once again it meets a square bastion. Here it can still be seen standing to a height of 7 to 8 feet above its own debris which cover much of its lower portion. Another notable feature is that all along the inner face of the wall can be seen several raised platforms probably to facilitate movement along the inside of the defensive wall. Then, after a small turn towards the east, as conditioned by the steep contours of the rock it follows, it further drops for a little less than one hundred feet and joins a square bastion (Pl. 85 b.) in the extreme south end. Below this corner bastion the hill markedly slopes down to the river bed. The defensive wall, therefore, turns due east where it can be easily traced for 150'. Beyond that it is either buried deep under debris washed down from the hill top or, as indicated by spoil trench, it has disappeared due to the organised plunder by some contractors who needed ready made blocks of stone for constructing ramps in the riverside. Here the measurements are taken on the most probable points which appear to have accommodated the fortification wall.

We shall again go to the 'Churchill Point' to travel along the north-eastern arm of this vast rectangle. Right below this point the defensive wall follows crags and steep rocky walls for the upper 150' of its length. To the east of it, however, the hill flattens out gradually and must have accommodated the main entrance of the fort. That it was approached by the British soldiers from this side and that there are abundant remnants of an old sloping path again reaching the same spot would lend additional support to this view. Below the 300' contour line the defensive wall appears to have been doubled in its original size (5' thickness) revealing, also, considerable alterations due to repairs which appear to have been made subsequently as reflected in the excavation of a trial trench (T.T. z) laid against the external face of this wall. Below this, it runs in a zigzag way following the gradual slope of the hill down to the river and joins a rectangular bastion of which only traces remain at present. Built in towers can again be seen (Pl. 85 a.). A well-frequented modern foot-path skirting the Damkot hill on the south-east passes over this bastion, though it served on the contrary in the life span of the fort. The strategic position of this bastion measuring almost 16'x12' can be well imagined from the fact that it is perched upon a huge rock overhanging the river, and thus prevented effectively any ap-

proach from the east along the lower slope of the hill. It also guarded the water supply about 88' away to the south-west.

From the east corner bastion the defensive wall gently turns to the south and appears to have been brought close to the river bed for securing a constant water supply. It is here that our second trial trench (T.T. x) was laid against the outer face of the wall. The excavation revealed built-in semi-circular towers (Pl. 86 a.) and two building phases as elsewhere noted (See T.T. x). Beyond that, as the wall started running along the riverside, it can be traced for fifty feet of its length as represented by stumps standing here and there. Attached to the inner face of the fortification wall (10' in height) can be seen several other structures probably living rooms. Again we leave it here buried under debris or partly removed by stone robbers.

VI — COINS

Apart from the more recent issues of the British East India Co., as many as nineteen coins of Kushana and Hindu Shahi Kings were found in the excavation.¹ Of the total, billon is represented by one (of Sri Samanta Deva) and the remainder are of copper. Some of the coins are much corroded with obliterated legends and some others, particularly of Vasudeva II, are much damaged; but their size and the context in which they were found along with better examples of the same king is highly suggestive and probably sufficient testimony for their attribution to the Kushana period. The larger number of coins, however, are in a good state of preservation so that, after cleaning, they have been clearly identified. Their distribution at various levels is as follows:

Scytho-Parthian (?) = 1; Wima Kadphises = 1; Kanishka = 7

Vasudeva II = 5; Sri Samanta Deva = 3; Sri Vakka Deva = 2

The copper coin (No. 541) which we attribute to the Scytho-Parthian period is corroded beyond identification. Moreover it was found in a pit, therefore reliable only in association with other materials. Apparently, the larger number of the coins go to the Kushana period and, in that, particularly to Kanishka, probably indicative of an opulent community. On his coins, Kanishka is represented by three types: those (i) with goddess Nanaia, (ii) Miira, (iii) and wind-god. Separated from them only by one

1. There was no occupation between the first arrival of the coins of East India Co., and those of Sri Samanta Deva.

floor level measuring a little more than three inches in depth, was found the solitary coin of Wima. These are described below:

1. Reg. No. 541. Copper coin, round and thin with broken edge making almost squarish. It is much corroded. Legend or figure, if there was any, has disappeared. Owing to the context (immediately preceding Wima) it is assigned to the Scytho-Parthian period. Weight: 3.20 gm Area A, TR. D2, Not illustrated

St. (7).

2. Reg. No. 58. Copper coin, round, thick and edge corroded.

Pl. 87 a. 1 Obv. King standing in typical Kushana dress with face turned to left; right hand putting something into the incense burner below; left hand akimbo; marginal legend (obliterated) in Greek; monogram¹ to left.

Rev. Siva and the Bull with legend much obliterated; Weight: 15.73 gm. TR. D2, St. (6) Attributed to Wima Kadphises.

3. Reg. No. 264. Copper coin, round, thick and edge corroded.

Pl. 87 a. 2 Obv. Standing King in typical Kushana dress with face turned to left; right hand putting something into the incense burner below; left hand upraised with spear; marginal legend in Greek is obliterated.

Rev. Wind god (OADO) running to left but legend gone. Weight: 17.39 gm. TR. DZ St. (5). Attributed to Kanishka

4. Reg. No. 542. Copper coin, round, thick and edge much corroded.


Pl 87 a. 3 Obv. Similar to No. 3, above.

Rev. Within a beaded border, a standing deity to left, with right hand extended and left hand akimbo; hand rayed. Below right hand is the typical Kushana Symbol² (four prongs on a double edge). To right the name of the deity reads MIIRO in Greek.

Weight: 16.61 gm. TR. D3, St. (5).

On typological ground it can be attributed to Kanishka.

1. SYMBOL 

2. SYMBOL 

5. Reg. No. 545. Copper coin, round, thick and rough edge.

Pl. 87 a. 4 Obv. Rude figure of King as above. Part of the Greek legend reads NANO.

Rev. Rude figure of MIRO as in No. 4, above, but the legend is missing. It is a very poor issue;
Weight: 17.24 gm. TR. D3, St. (5).
Attributed to Kanishka.

6. Reg. No. 69. Similar.

Pl. 87 a. 5 Weight: 17.19 gm. TR. D2, St. (5).
Attributed to Kanishka.

7. Reg. No. 544. Copper coin, round, thick, better preserved.

Pl. 87 a. 6 Obv. Standing King as in No. 3, above. Legend gone.
Rev. Goddess Nanaia to right, nimbate and diademed within beaded border; sceptre in the right hand is indistinct. On the left Greek legend reads NANA.
Weight: 17.03 gm. TR. D3, St. (5).
Attributed to Kanishka.

8. Reg. No. 543. Copper coin, round, thick, edge corroded.

Pl. 87 a. 7 Obv. Standing King as in No. 3, above. Greek legend obliterated.
Rev. Goddess NANAIA to right with traces of Greek legend on the left.
Weight: 16.62 gm. TR. D1, disturbed pit, St. (2).
Attributed to Kanishka.

9. Reg. No. 56. Similar.

Pl. 87 a. 8 Weight: 16.22 gm. TR. D2, St. (5).
Attributed to Kanishka.

10. Reg. No. 329. Copper coin, round, thin, edge broken making it almost Not illustrated squarish.

Obv. Crude figure of a standing King in Kushana dress, the lower end of the upper coat making a deep curve. Face is missing and hands not well formed. Portion below knee is gone. Legend completely effaced.

Rev. Seated deity (Ardoksho) with traces of cornucopiae in her left hand.

Weight: 3.84 gm. TR. D1, St. top of (5).

On stylistic grounds it can be attributed to Vasudeva II.

11. Reg. No. 269. Copper coin, round, thin, heavily corroded.

Not illus- Obv. Figure completely effaced.

trated. Rev. As in No. 10, above.

Weight: 2.94 gm. TR. T.T. x, St. (7).

Attributed to Vasudeva II.

12. Reg. No. 95. Copper coin, broken.

Not illus- Obv. Half figure of a standing Kushana King as in No. 10, trated. above.

Rev. Traces of a seated goddess holding cornucopiae as in No. 10, above.

TR. A0, St. (4) (mixed deposit).

Attributed to Vasudeva II.

13. Reg. No. 142. Similar.

Not illustrated. TR. A0, St. (4) (mixed deposit).

Attributed to Vasudeva II.

14. Reg. No. 514. Copper coin, round, thick but comparatively smaller

Not illustrated. in size.

Obv. Traces of standing King as in No. 10, above.

Rev. Completely effaced.

Weight: 2.28 gm. TR. C1/C2 BK, St. (4).

Attributed to Vasudeva II.

15. Reg. No. 267. Copper coin, round, thin comparatively well preserved.

Pl. 87 a. 9 Obv. Elephant standing to left. Above, along the margin legend in Sarada characters reading Sri Vakka De

Rev. Lion to right with front paw raised and tail ending in plume curved over back; mane consists of three dots.

Weight: 2.21 gm. Area 'B' TR. A1, St. (3-a) (Comp. Macdowall, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1968, Pl. XIX, Fig. 37).

16. Reg. No. 270. Copper coin, round, thin, and double struck.

Pl. 87 a. 10 Obv. Elephant standing to left, above, legend Sri Vakka Deva.

Rev. Lion to right, front paw raised and double curve of tail over back. No letter in the field.

Weight: 2.59 gm. TR, D4, St. (2).

(Comp. Macdowall, op cit. Pl. XIX, Fig. 37).

17. Reg. No. 354. Copper coin, round, thin, and well preserved.

Pl. 87 a. 11 Obv. Elephant standing to left, above, legend Sri Samanta Deva.

Rev. Lion to right with front paw raised and curved tail over back having four petalled rosette and a dot inside the bend. It has beaded border.

Weight: 2.54 gm. TR, C4, St. (1).

(Comp. Macdowall, op cit. Pl. XIX, Fig. 42).

18. Reg. No. 327. Copper coin, round, thin and badly cut edge making it Not illustrated. almost squarish.

Obv. Elephant standing to left, above, legend Sri Samanta Deva.

Rev. Lion as in No. 17, above.

Weight: 1.97 gm. TR. A2, St. (1).

(Comp. Macdowall, op cit. Pl. XIX, Fig. 39).

19. Reg. No. 507. Bilon coin, round, thin and well preserved.

Pl. 87 a. 12 Obv. Recumbent humped bull to left with trident on rump, and a star and dot in front. Above legend Sri Samanta Deva.

Rev. King holding lance (and banner with two streamers) to right, riding on horse to right, with symbol No. 1 in the left field and a sign resembling symbol No. 2 over the horses head. Neater treatment.

Weight: 3.16 gm. TR, E4, St. (1) almost on the top.

(Comp. Macdowall op cit. Pl. XVIII, Fig. 33).

No. 1 2

No. 2 2

Copper coins of the Kushana Kings found in the excavation are represented by their common types and do not call for any comments; their value is rather as an index to the stratigraphical horizon they indicate than as a substantive development in the solution of the chronologically vexed problems of these kings. At best we can gather from them that the coin of Wima appears first of all. The Kushana coins close to a still earlier deposit have greater affinities with Scytho-Parthian cultural elements. It is closely followed by the coins of Kanishka which, in turn, appear to have been followed by those of Vasudeva II. What happened to the coinage of several other Kushana Kings whose reigns come after Wima and before Vasudeva II, is not clear. May be the coins were washed down as is so common a phenomenon upon this site.

Coinage of the Hindu Shahi Kings, however, invites attention owing to their potential chronological value in the present context. Two of them (one copper issue of Vakka and the other billon coin of Samanta) were found in association with the defensive wall proving unmistakably its contemporaneity with them. More revealing, however, is the sequence which revealed the succession of these two kings, as represented by their coins, in the stratified deposit.

The basic difficulty as to the chronological sequence and identification of the Hindu Shahi Kings hinges upon the fact that most of the names¹ given by Alberuni — the best source of our information — do not correspond very closely to those so commonly found on the coins. In addition to it several names (or titles) found on the coins do not find any place in Alberuni's list. The legend Sri Spalapati Deva of some silver and copper coins, for example, do not have any remote equivalent in historical records, Copper denominations of the Hindu Shahis with legend Sri Samanta Deva² and Sri Vakka are quite abundant in Dir and Swat, readily available in the streets, but few finds have been made systematically; thus giving us little help in establishing the chronological sequence of the principal issues.


An attempt has been made by Macdowall to probe into the problem. Relying mainly on the evidence of metrology — the general weight reduction of certain coin types which, incidentally, coincided with the progressive deterioration of the type and stylisation of letter forms Macdowall has worked out a sequence of the principal denominations in silver and copper.

1. Kallar, Kamalu, Jaipal, Anandapala, Tarojanapala, see *Alberuni's India* II, P. 18.
2. Cunningham has identified Samanta Deva of the coins with Samand of Alberuni. See Cunningham, *coins of Mediaeval India*. P. 56.


His reconstruction of the general chronological development is as follows. He remarks: "Successive issues of Sri Vakka Deva (lion and elephant type) can be distinguished by a series of privy marks. The earliest issue seems to be the one in a bold spirited style. The second issue can be recognised by the distinctive way in which it treats the rear leg of the lion. The third issue has (No. 1)¹ beneath the lion, the fourth and fifth issues have (No. 2) or (No. 3) beneath the lion and the sixth has (No. 4) beneath the lion and a quarter foil rosette above. The rosette in a similar form is found also on the first issue of copper coins of Samanta, which seems to have been the issue that followed the sixth issue with the legend Sri Vakka Deva. The first two of these letters already known from silver coins of issue V of Spalapati, thus offering additional evidence to that drawn from metrology that the copper coins of the Lion and Elephant type with the legend Sri Vakka Deva were contemporary with the second stage of the silver of the Bull and Horseman type with the legend Sri Spalapati Deva, and provided the small change for that silver". (Macdowall, op. cit. P. 202).


Our coins of the Lion and Elephant type with the legend Sri Vakka Deva are similar to the fourth or fifth issue with the privy mark (No. 2 above) of Macdowall's reconstruction as given above. These coins should be contemporary therefore with the second stage of silver of the Bull and Horseman type with the legend Sri Spalapati Deva. According to this scheme our coins can be dated to the end of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century A.D. Elsewhere it has been shown that a similar date can be given to the stratigraphical level which yielded these coins on the basis of other associated materials.

We did not find any coin of Vakka with rosette probably due to the meagre number of these finds; however, we have one with the similar rosette but the legend reads Sri Samanta Deva. According to the reconstruction of Macdowall, it seems to have followed the last issue of Vakka in his copper denomination. The other coin of Samanta, found in our excavation, having no privy marks and no rosette and moreover struck to a lower weight standard with a less spirited treatment of the type than the other Samanta issues, is comparable to those of Macdowall which constitute a final copper issue with Sri Samanta Deva parallel to the last silver issue with the same legend. It must have reached Damkot after circa A.D. 850

1 

2 

No 3. 

No 4. 

The final stage is marked by the billon coin of the Bull and Horseman type with the legend Sri Samanta Deva. According to the same scheme it must be dated to round about A.D. 1000. Stratigraphic evidence provides a striking confirmation of part of the results worked out by Macdowall if the meagre number of the coins found at Damkot would allow any such conclusion. Anyway the Lion and Elephant type of Vakka confined to stratum (2) and that of Samanta to Stratum (1) along with his billon coin of the Bull and Horseman type found on the top inspires our confidence in the succession of the two kings in the similar order. Thus Sri Vakka Deva of the coins becomes the immediate predecessor of Samanta Deva whose name sounds so similar to Samand of Alberuni. But Vakka does not find any place in Alberuni's list; instead, he gives the name of Kallar who appears to have preceded Samand. Can we find the coinage of Kallar in the Lion and Elephant type bearing the name of Sri Vakka? On the face of it, the two names appear to be unlike each other, though archaeological evidence is somewhat inclined towards such an identification.

7. TERRACOTTA AND CLAY OBJECTS¹

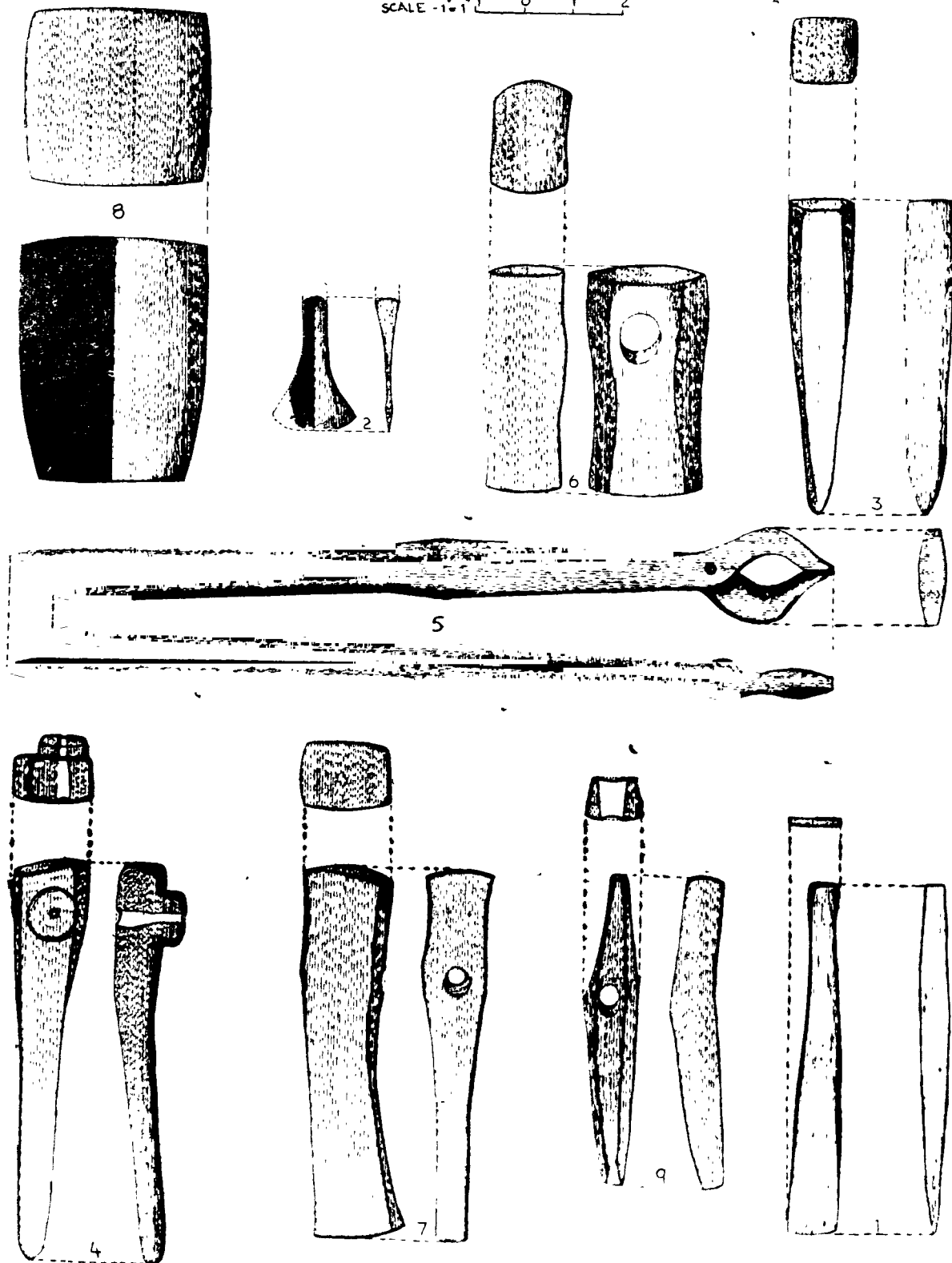
A sizeable number of terracotta objects including human and animal figurines, rattles, skin rubbers, playing dice, one bangle, an inscribed tablet, gamesman, birds, and a lotus mould were brought to light in the excavation. Most important among the terracottas, however, is a plaque depicting seated Buddha (to be described under Sculptures) exhibiting remarkably fine moulding of facial features, the effect of which was enhanced by the application of several colours in order to bring out certain parts into prominence. Equally important is a damaged head of the Buddha made of kneaded clay and merely dried in the sun. All other examples — particularly those meant for rough handling as play objects, (as indicated by their somewhat crude modelling) were baked red probably in kiln, with surfaces generally finished off with red slip so that it resulted in uniformity of colour all over. This uniformity was, however, occasionally broken by black painted bands as observed on some examples.

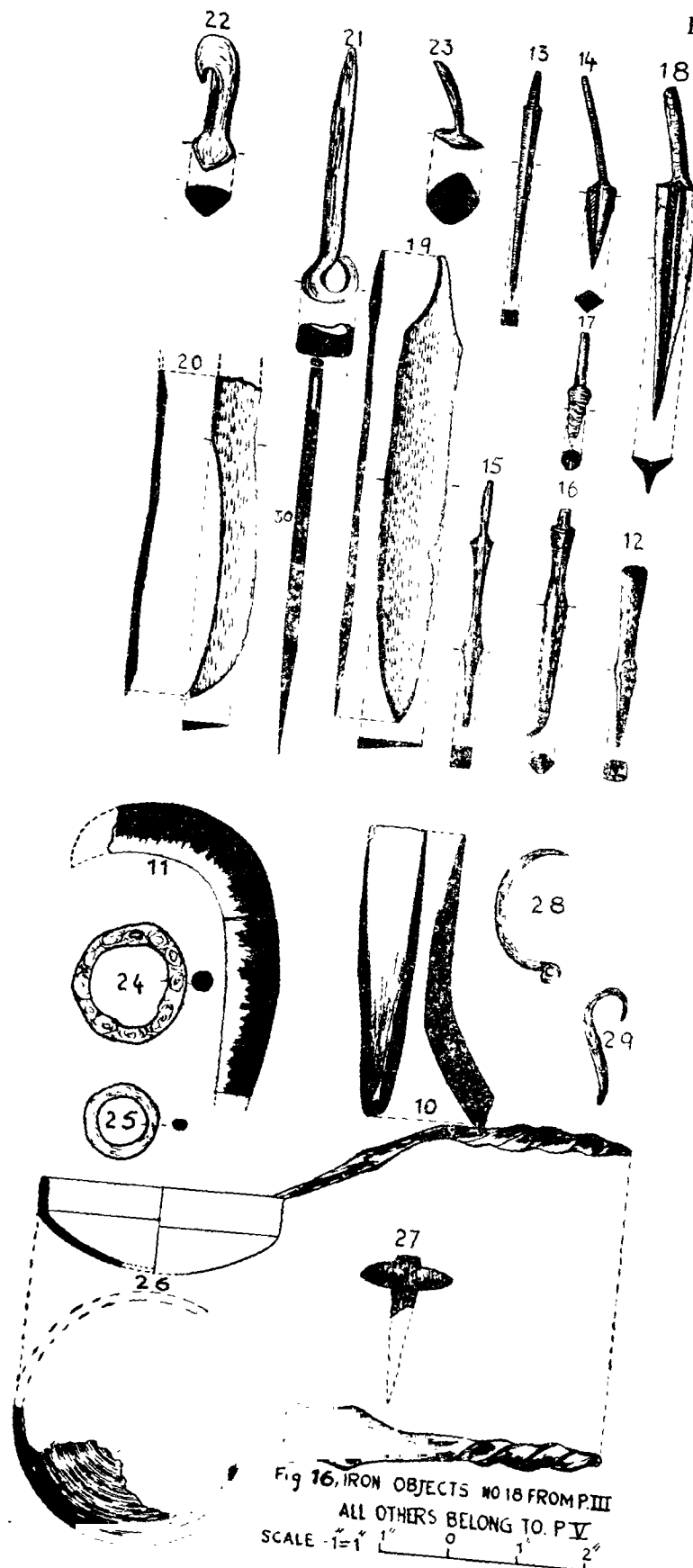
It is a curious fact, though certainly biased by the restricted digging at lower levels, that with the exception of a toy bird (Fig. 18, No. 11) and a moulded human figurine (Pl. 88 b) none of the terracotta human or animal figurines come from levels earlier than those assignable to the Kushanas — even the number of those from this period is few and far between,

1. For terracotta beads see section II 'Terracotta and Stone Beads'. For terracotta and clay Buddhist sculptures see section 14 'Sculptures' (of stone, terracotta and clay).

Fig 15, IRON OBJECTS PERIOD V

SCALE - 1" 1" 0 1" 2"





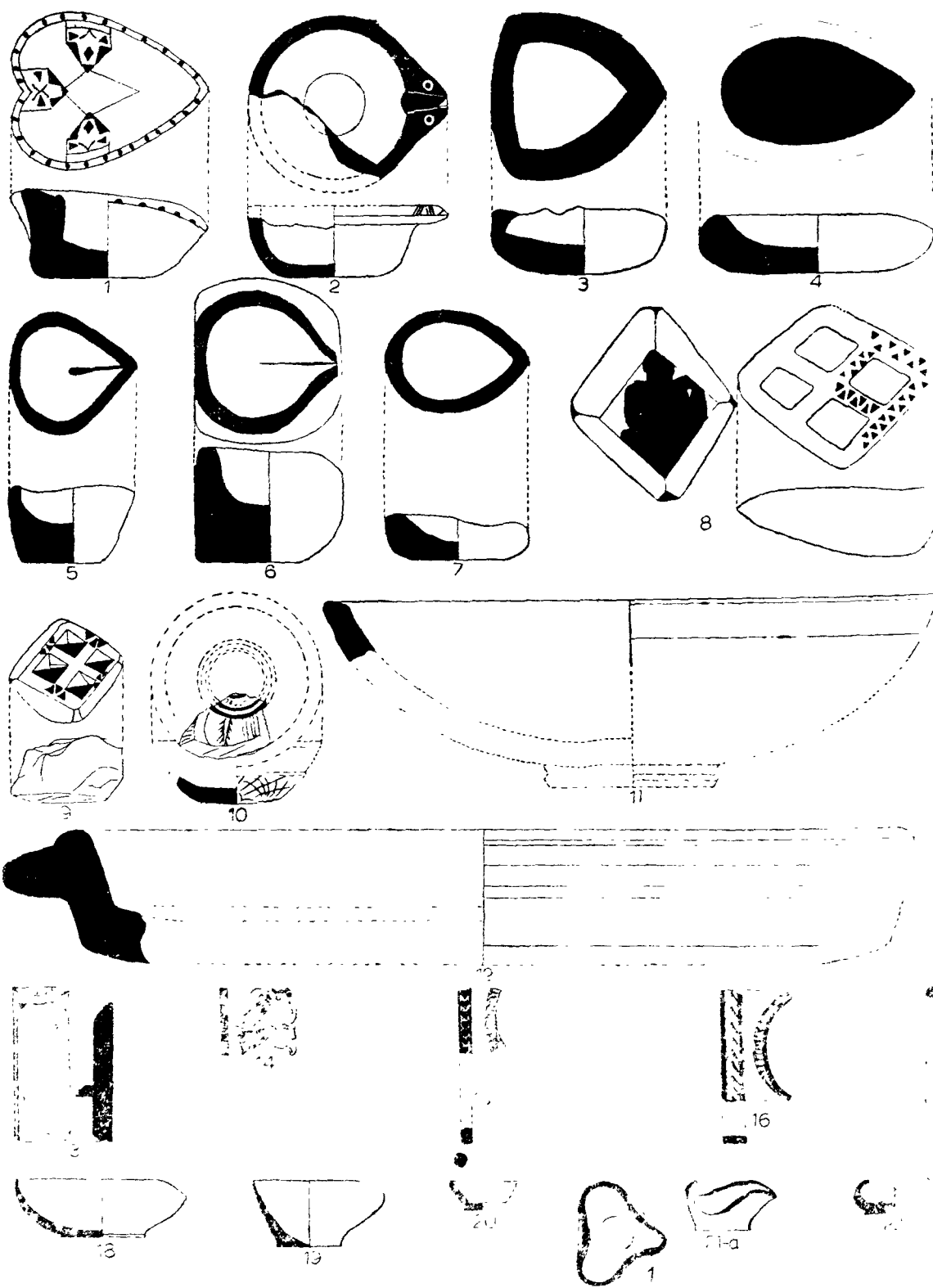


Fig 17, T.C. & STONE OBJECTS NOS 1-9 STONE LAMINAE PERIOD IV,
NO 10 PERIOD I, ALL OTHERS BELONG TO PERIOD IV

Scale - 1" = 1 cm

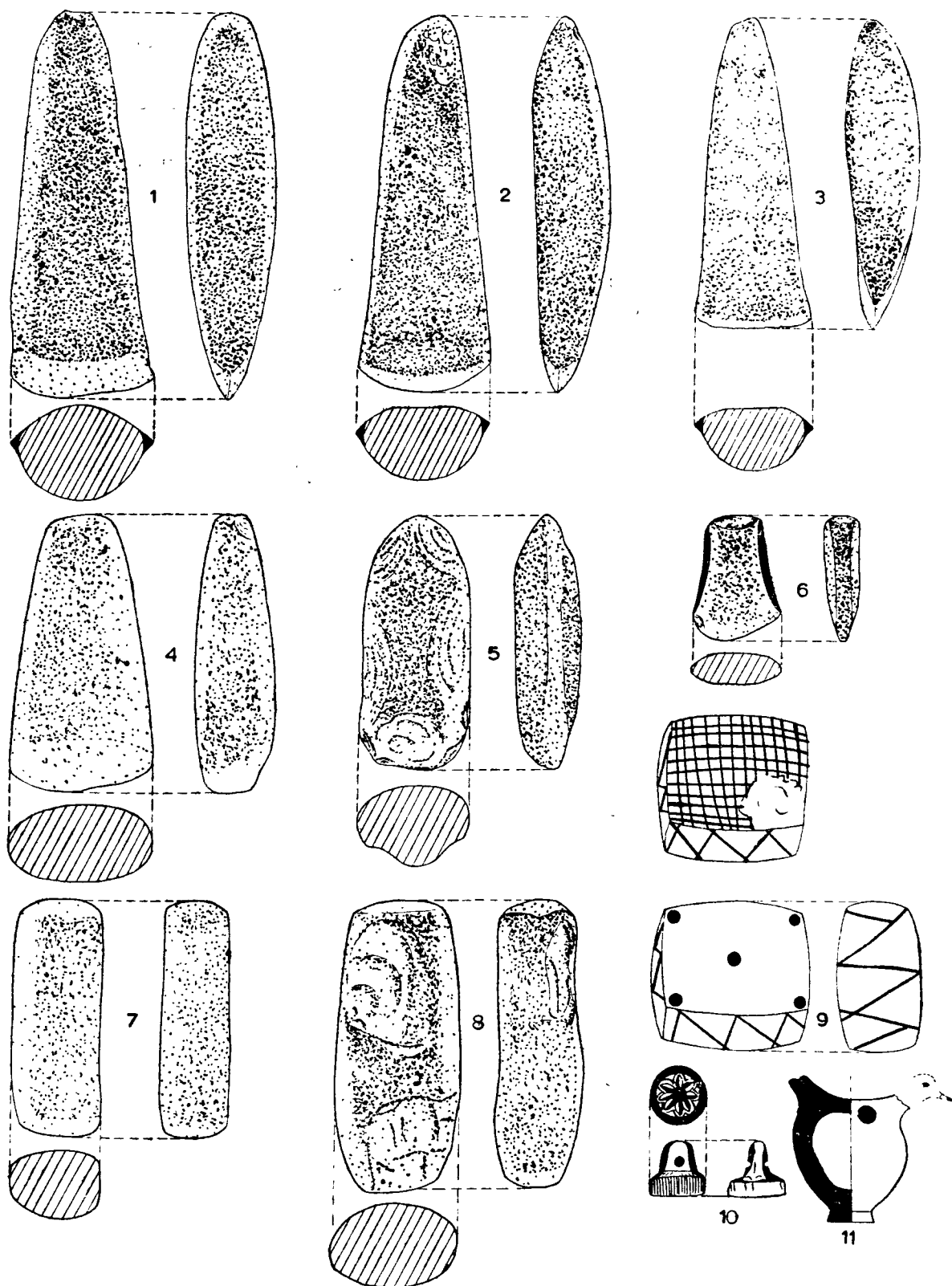


Fig 18, STONE TOOLS & T.C. OBJECTS - NOS 4-6 PERIOD I,
NOS 7,8 PERIOD II, NOS 1-3 FROM SHAMLAI, NOS 9-11 T.C. OBJECTS,
Scale - 1 = 1

the major axis being, as the evidence stands at present, the uppermost two strata ascribed to the Hindu Shahi period. More striking, however, is the difference — technological and qualitative — between the products of the Kushana and the Hindu Shahi periods if the meagre number of objects would allow any such generalisation. Almost all the best specimens including those of Buddhist significance were found in the stratigraphic level (i.e. Period IV) immediately succeeding that which yielded coins of the late Kushanas (Vasudeva II). It hardly needs stressing that the greater number of terracottas from the uppermost two strata, except for the numerical superiority, is much inferior in quality to all that was produced in the preceding phase. The reason is not far to seek. Terracotta art that flourished in the pre-citadel period at this site was particularly inspired by the Buddhist models for which clay had been adopted, due to its easy availability and great plasticity, as a suitable material for making sculptures. The figure of the seated Buddha and the clay head referred to above bear sufficient witness. It may be interpolated here that even the stratigraphical evidence of these objects is perfectly in line with the evidence produced by architectural details and lay-out of structures, which take the form of a central court surrounded by rooms resembling a monastery and for that matter a most befitting recipient of objects having religious significance. The very few horses and bulls from this level might be written off as strays from earlier levels. With the advent of the citadel period, however, as the site assumed a secular significance the number of the terracotta playing objects increased but much degenerated and perfectly in consonance with the new requirements where Buddhist Sculptures had no place.

Chronologically, no less important is the occurrence of a double moulded figurine (Pl. 88 b.) in the level immediately preceding the early Kushana period and assignable to the Scytho-Parthian period. The present example is much damaged and heavily encrusted but the characteristic features of this type as described by Gordon¹ elsewhere can abundantly be seen here. At Shaikhhan Dheri where the excavation has put this type somewhat squarely in the chronological framework it dominantly characterises the Scytho-Parthian and subsequent level.²

Selected specimens are described below from the technical viewpoint.

1 — HUMAN FIGURINES

These are only three in number but show different methods of manu-

1. Gordon H.D. Early Indian Terracotta, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 1939, Calcutta, of *CF Ancient Pak*: Vol. II, P. 57.
2. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, P. 47.

facture. Technically they can be divided into two distinct types — (i) double moulded hollow from within, (ii) hand made. Type (i) is represented by a single specimen and is stratigraphically separated from Type (ii) by a considerable depth of deposit. Prepared in a double mould, its body is rounded and hollow from within and shows a good naturalistic depth. Moreover it displays better plasticity and accuracy of anatomy than the latter (i.e. Type ii). Type ii is characterised by crudely modelled and pinched facial and bodily features. Two specimens are illustrated below:—

1. Pl. 88 b. No. 172: (Reg. No. 422) T.C: Type i; bust of a hollow double moulded female figurine in round with high breasts and a necklace consisting of small applied pellets hanging in front. Head and part of arms missing. Coated with fugitive red slip. The position of stumps of the arms indicate that hands were kept in front of the breast. It is heavily encrusted and part of the body has turned grey due to burning at some subsequent period. Area A, TR. D2, St. (8). Period II.
2. Pl. 88 c. No. 173: (Reg. No. 43) T.C. Type ii; hand-made, male figure shown in kneeling position with hands tied in front. It has pinched facial features with high arched nose and punctured eyes. Mouth is indicated by a slit. It has roundles in the ears and wears a turban on the head with one end of the turban falling on the back. Coated with a thick layer of red slip and painted black on the eyebrows, arms, waist and feet. It appears to have been placed upon a stand which is presently missing. Area, A, TR. D2, St. (2) Period V. The placing of this figure upon a stand and its kneeling position with hands tied in front like a prisoner may be reminiscent of the local conditions after the Hindu Shahis captured this site. The mediocrity reflected in the facial features, the turbaned head and the position of hands, unlike a devotee, might be calculated to show the humble position of a local chief *vis a vis* the new overlords whose strength of arms weighed heavily upon the local populace. Anyway it remains a guess and should not be pressed far.

II — BULLS

Among the terracotta animal figurines bulls have the largest number (total: 18), though none of them was found complete. There are sufficient number of fragments, however, to give different details of their bodily features. Except for a few examples — with pinched features — all the others are coated with a thick layer of light red slip. The decoration,

though very occasional, consists of pin-holes scattered on the flanks of the main body or black painted lines. The general method used for the manufacture is rolling a lump of clay in hand and then pressing in the middle so that a mass of clay accumulate on both ends which would be utilized for shaping legs — on the under surface and as in variety (a) for fashioning other limbs of the body which is solid without exception. The legs are always solid and stumpy. Except in variety (a) the horns, prominently given over the head, are invariably projecting upwards with a little inward incline at the top.

On the basis of technological principles it is possible to classify them into three varieties. Those having:

- (a) Pinched features
- (b) Limbs made separately but luted before firing
- and (c) Limb made separately and joined by tenon.

Variety (a) is represented by three specimens. In comparison with other two varieties these are crudely modelled without any care for symmetry or proportion so that if there were no hump it would have been difficult to tell them apart from animal figurines other than bulls. They are characterised by a short pinched nozel like a parrot-beak and a semi-circular fan-like projection over the head pinched twice at the ends to indicate horns. Similarly the close-set hump is also pinched up from the main body. The whole is indeed fashioned out of a single lump of clay. The absence of any mark for eyes, mouth and nostrils is peculiar. None of the present examples exhibits any sign of slip. All of them, except one, belong to the Hindu Shahi levels.

Variety (b) represented by a larger number (total: 14) is comparatively much better in modelling and finish. All the figurines are coated with a thick layer of red slip. The characteristic feature of this variety is that neck, horns, dewlap, hump and eyes were made separately and then luted to the actual body before firing. After that a coating of slip finished off the surface. Nostrils and mouth are indicated, in all cases, either by piercing holes or deep incisions. Only four specimens come from the Kushana levels. The rest of them belong to the upper strata.

Variety (c) is represented by a solitary specimen from the Kushana level. It is again carefully modelled and shows fine red slip. It has two holes — one each at the back and front, which indicate that head and tail were made separate and then joined by means of a tenon probably after firing.

Selected examples are illustrated below:— (Pl. 89 a. No. 175).

1. (Reg. No. 337) T.C: variety 'a'; front part of a bull with pinched nozel, ears, horns and hump. Crudely modelled; no slip. Area A, TR. D4, St. (3), Period IV.
2. (Reg. No. 29) T.C: variety 'b'; bull with legs, tail and part of muzzle broken. Its neck, horns, tail, ears and dewlap were made separately and luted to the main body before firing. It is bulky in size. Coated with a thick layer of red slip. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.
3. (Reg. No. 215) T.C: variety 'b'; bull, only front part, tips of horns and lower part of legs broken. Thick-set prominent features. Nostrils indicated by piercing two holes whereas mouth is slitted. Fine red-dish slip Area A, TR. A2, St. (2), Period V.
4. (Reg. No. 242) T.C: variety 'b'; bull, neck and part of the front legs missing. Coated with red slip. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
5. (Reg. No. 303) T.C: variety 'c'; bull, part of front legs, tail and neck missing. Has two deep holes — one each at back and front for neck and tail to be tenoned to the main body. Red slip. Area A, TR. A1, St. (2), Period V.

III — HORSES

Horses (total: 6) were found equally distributed in the pre-Hindu Shahi levels. These are all fragmentary in condition but their necks (and in one case back also) are sufficiently preserved to give details of the muzzle. In three cases they have hollow necks from which it can be concluded that their bodies were also hollow from within. They are fired red, occasionally with a grey core. Majority of them are treated with a thick coating of red slip. It is noteworthy that horses are more truthfully modelled than bulls described above. No example of a horse on wheel was found, though the type was much earlier known at Taxila.¹ Almost all of them are decorated; The decoration consists of elaborate head stalls, saddle in one case, and black painted lines. As indicated by the position of head, most of the horses have been provided with high arched necks.

1. Marshall, *Taxila* Vol. 11, P. 453.

The head stalls are composed of vertical cheek-straps with horizontal face-and nose-bands and ear-straps decorated (in one case) with small slitted pellets on the forehead. The saddled horse with us, almost dull red in colour, is a crudely fashioned little toy and all that can be made out of it is that the saddle was held in place by a crupper behind and a breast band in front. These are classified as follows. **Those:**

- (a) with solid body.
- (b) with body hollow from within.
- (c) with saddles.

Types (a) and (c) appear to be very common in this region and were found in large numbers at Shaikhani Dheri,¹ Charsada² and Taxila³ in a comparatively earlier context. Here it appears to be a continuation of the same tradition. Type (b) with horses bigger in size was also found at Taxila,⁴ though their number was meagre.

Four specimens are illustrated below: (Pl. 89 b. No. 176)

1. (Reg. No. 252) T.C: variety (a); head and neck of a terracotta solid toy horse with pierced ears and nostrils and open mouth. The head-stall consists of applied vertical cheek-straps, nose-band and ear-straps. The eyes are made of applied circlets, with a hole in the centre and each placed within an oval device attached to the cheek-straps, probably representing blinder. It shows fine red slip. Area A, TR. B3, St. (2), Period V.
2. (Reg. No. 412) T.C: variety (b); muzzle of a red terracotta toy horse with anatomical features more realistically delineated. The head-stall, of which the upper portion is missing, consists of applied vertical cheek-straps and nose-band painted black. The actual body was probably hollow from within. It is coated with a fine rosy red slip having greater mica contents. Area A, TR. D0, St. (4), Period IV.
3. (Reg. No. 39) T.C: variety (b); head and part of neck of a terracotta horse hollow from within. It appears to be more ornamental and less carefully modelled. It has slitted mouth, pierced nostrils and ears standing erect. The eyes are made of applied circlets with a hole in the centre, each placed within an oval device probably representing

1. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol II, P. 85.
2. Wheeler, *Charsada*, P. 112.
3. Marshall, *op cit.* P. 455.
4. *Ibid.*

blinder. The head stall consists of applied vertical cheek-straps and face-straps comprising nose-band which is knotted, at both ends, with the cheek-straps and front bands. Around the ears the straps are decorated with small slitted pellets. Slipped red. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.

4. (Reg. No. 389) T.C: variety (c); crudely fashioned terracotta saddled horse; head, tail and part of legs missing. The saddle (much damaged) has two peaks — one each on the back and front and is held in place with crupper behind and a breast-band (not clear in the picture). It is burnt dull red on the surface, but the core is grey. Without slip. Area B, TR. B1, St. (2), Period V.

IV — MISCELLANEOUS

1. Pl. 90 a. No. 177: (Reg. No. 390) T.C: head and neck of a terracotta grotesque lion with open mouth and applied tongue. The nostrils are indicated by piercing a pair of holes and eyes — rather longish in form — are shown in low relief. Ears are standing erect and mane is indicated by incised parallel lines. Back of the neck is coated with a thin layer of deep red slip whereas the front portion is treated with buff slip which, having greater mica contents, has consequently made it somewhat shiny. There are painted bands of deep red colour on the underside of its neck. Area B, TR. A1, St. (2) Period V.
2. (Reg. No. 96) Crude figure of a solid red terracotta dog shown in running position. Neck missing. Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V. Not illustrated.
3. Fig. 18/11 (Reg. No. 433). Toy rattle in the form of a hen with disproportionately swollen body placed upon a solid stand. It has a hole in the centre. Buff colour, no slip. Area B, TR. B1, St. (5), Period III.

It can be well compared with those from Taxila where exactly similar examples were found (see Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III, P. 468). Marshall observed that toy rattles having separate legs were restricted to Bhir Mound whereas those from Sirkap had solid round base. The evidence conforms well with the present example.

4. Fig. 18/9 (Reg. No. 200) Skin-rubber of red terracotta, cubical in form

and hollow from within. Striated lines crossing each other on one face and stamped circlets on the opposite one. It has a stone within and could also be used as a rattle. Very fine surface treatment consisting of deep red slip. Area A, TR. D1, St. (1), Period V.

5. Pl. 89 b. (Reg. No. 117) Toy elephant of solid reddish brown terracotta with applied trappings on the back. Part of legs, trunk and eye and ears are damaged. The tusks are inserted into sockets. Reddish slip. Area A. TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
6. Pl. 89 a. (Reg. No. 408) Crude figure of a solid grey terracotta camel; much damaged. Trappings indicated by pin-holes running in a single line on the flanks and back of the animal. Dark grey slip. Found along the defensive wall. St. (1). Period V.
7. Fig. 18/10 (Reg. No. 85) Circular lotus mould of red terracotta having sunk lotus design and a perforated boss at the back for handling or suspending. Dia. 1 in. Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
8. (Reg. No. 331) Bangle of grey terracotta, flat on the inside and concave on the outside; externally burnished, Dia. 3.4 in. Area A, TR. D4. St. (1), Period V.

V — T.C. TABLET WITH BUDDHIST CREED FORMULA

(Pl. 90 b. No. 178)

It was found in the 'water reservoir' almost two feet above the T.C. plaque depicting Buddha and some schist sculptures to be described below: It reads:

Ye dhamma hetu-prabhavā hetum teshāṃ tathāgato hyavadat teshāṅcha yo nirodha.
evam vādi mahāsramanāḥ

(Of all dispositions proceeding from a cause, the *Tathagata* (i.e. Buddha) has explained the cause, and he has explained their cessation also. This is the doctrine of the great *Sramana*, i.e. the Buddha).

VI — TERRACOTTA WEIGHTS

Only eleven examples were found in the excavation. According to shape these are classified as under:

- (a) Conical (Pl. 91 a., 10-13)
- (b) Cylindrical (Pl. 91 a., 14)
- (c) Reel-shaped (Pl. 91 a. 15, 16).

Variety 'a' is represented by seven, variety 'b' and 'c' each by two specimens, both in red and grey colours. Variety 'b' has the finest specimens of all and shows fine slip which appear to have been smoothly rubbed. It appears to be wheel turned. All the others are hand-made. In one case (from variety 'a') there is an impressed dot on the top face. In section they are always circular. It may be pointed out here that all the specimens vary considerably among themselves in size as well as in weight and do not lend themselves to any consistent or uniform pattern. Nor is their number sufficient to fix their value ratio, which they bear to each other, with a virtual accuracy.

VII — TERRACOTTA PLAYING DICE

Two identical specimens of reddish brown terracotta playing dice were found in the uppermost stratum. Each of these is marked with one to six dots or dotted circles on all the six sides. The number of dots is regular so that one side is marked by one dot or dotted circle, the next by two, the third by three and so on upto six. No two sides repeat the same number. These are described below: None of them is illustrated.

1. (Reg. No. 276) Cubical die of reddish brown terracotta having one to six dots on each consecutive side. The numbering scheme is as follows: One is opposite to six, two to five and four to three. Area A, TR. B1, St. (1), Period V.
2. (Reg. No. 268) Similar, having dotted circles; the numbering scheme is like this: one is placed opposite to four, two to five, and three to six. Area A, TR. C2, St. (1), Period V.

VIII — GAMESMEN

These are only two in number. They have smoky core and reddish brown surface. Reg. No. 527 from layer (4) is almost reel-shaped being slightly constricted at the waist and flat at the top and bottom. Its height is 0.7 inches. The other example (Reg. No. 3) from layer (1) is like a miniature tower having circular flat base and a projecting boss on the rounded top. Its height is 1¼".

8. — COPPER (BRONZE) OBJECTS

The use of copper had already been substantially replaced by iron since the second occupational period of this site but it continued to be a favourite material for fabricating small articles like antimony rods, bangles and bells and other house-hold utensils of which several fragments came to light. The apparent paucity of these fragments from layer (3) down to the second Gap may be due to restricted digging at these levels. Copper objects tend to concentrate in the upper two strata ascribable to the Hindu Shahi period, though their larger number may be biased by comparatively larger area brought under excavation.

A study of these objects has revealed two different techniques—simple hammering and solid casting, employed in the manufacture of copper or bronze objects. The latter is evidenced in the copper plaque depicting an embossed flame halo and two flanking devotees (to be described below). Copper (bronze) objects are grouped into:

- i. Toilet Objects
- ii. Personal Ornaments
- iii. Miscellaneous.

i - TOILET OBJECTS

Toilet objects consist of antimony rods, ear-cleaners and tooth-picks of which as many as twelve¹ specimens were found in the excavation. These are placed under one head for the simple reason that an antimony-rod is occasionally combined with a tooth-pick or an ear-cleaner. The usual shape of an antimony rod is that of a rounded copper (or iron) rod measuring from three-and-a-quarter to seven inches in length. The particular shape of the ends of a rod was, however, determined by its function so that when used as a tooth-pick it was pointed at the ends; on the contrary, when required for smearing antimony it was thickened at the ends. It was furnished with a tiny scoop at one end in case when the rod was used as an ear-cleaner. In the case of a simple antimony rod, it is clubbed at both ends and, not very often, slightly raised in the middle.

Antimony-rods, tooth-picks and ear-cleaners and their combinations also were found abundantly by Marshall at Taxila². As to their date he re-

1. Of the total copper is represented by nine and iron by three.
2. Marshall, *Taxila* ii, P. 585 and iii, Pl. 173.

marks: "The earliest specimens found at Taxila date from the third, or possibly fourth, century B.C. the latest from the first century A.D." At Damkot we did not find any example in ivory or bone, though we have iron for three rods². Moreover none of our examples goes earlier than our stratum (3).

Selected examples are illustrated below: (Pl. 91b, No. 180).

1. (Reg. No. 503) Copper (bronze) antimony-rod with clubbed ends which appears to have been smoothly rounded off. Length: $4\frac{1}{3}$ inches within Area A, TR. D1/R2BK, St. (3), Period IV.
2. (Reg. No. 90) same as above but raised in the middle. Length: 4 inches. Area A, TR.D2, St. (2). Period V.
3. (Reg. No. 233) same as No. 2 above, but the material is iron. Length: $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Area A, TR.B2, St. (2). Period V.
4. (Reg. No. 447) Copper antimony-rod-cum-tooth-pick, thickened at one end and pointed at the other. It is subsequently bent and encrusted. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Area A, TR.S3, St. (3). Period V.
5. (Reg. No. 83) Copper: combination of ear-cleaner and antimony-rod with a little scoop at one end and damaged at the other. Length: $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Area A, TR. C2, St. (1). Period V.

(b) HAIR-PINS.

- Only three were found in the excavation. These are described below:
6. (Reg. No. 414) copper hair-pin with a blunt point at one end and knob at the other. It is heavily encrusted Length: 3 inches. Area A, TR.C2, St. (3), period IV.
 7. (Reg. No. 468) same as above. Length: $2\frac{1}{3}$ inches. Area A, TR.C2, St. (2). Period V.
 8. (Reg. No. 463) Copper hair-pin with umbrella top; it is damaged at the other end. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Area A, TR.B2, St. (3). Period IV.

1. Ibid, P. 657.

2. At Taxila iron is not recorded as a material for making antimony-rods.

ii - PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

(a) BANGLES.

Eight specimens were found in a fragmentary condition. Among them six are made of copper and two of bronze. It is noteworthy that all the copper bangles, unlike those of glass and shell, are of the simplest form consisting of a plain circlet of wire, round or oval in section. This form persists throughout without any change. In this circlet provision was made for slipping the bangle onto the wrist by keeping it open on one side. In many examples the ends are thickened. Two examples are described below. None of them is illustrated.

1. (Reg. No. 460) Copper: bangle of plain circular wire with open ends brought close to each other. Dia. 2.2 inches. Area A, TR.B2, St. (2), Period V.
2. (Reg. No. 496) Copper: bangle wire, almost round in section with open ends. Dia. 2.2 inches. It was found in association with the defensive wall. Area A, St. (2), Period V.

(b) FINGER RINGS.

Total: 4. All the four specimens are made of copper. Stratigraphically the earliest example belongs to layer (3) at this site. All of them were found in very poor state of preservation except one (Reg. No. 517). Typologically they can be classified into: (i) simple circlet of rounded wire, (ii) with plain bezel, (iii) with bezel having small depression for semi-precious stone. Only two examples are illustrated below, as the rest of them happen to be in a fragmentary condition.

1. Pl. 92a. (Reg. No. 450) Copper finger-ring of a rounded wire somewhat flattened at the bezel. Dia. 0.7 inches. Area A, TR.E2, ST (2), Period V.
2. Pl. 92a. (Reg. No. 517) Copper or bronze finger-ring of thin rounded wire with file edge marks on the outer face. Dia. 0.65 inches. Area A TR.C4, St. (3). Period IV.

iii - MISCELLANEOUS

1. (Reg. No. 37) A small bell made of beaten copper sheet and having

an almost closed mouth and a stone ball within. The size and form of the bell indicate that it was intended to give a lower note. Similar bells are reported from Taxila (Comp. Marshall, *Taxila* iii, Pl. 176, 352). Two examples were found in the present excavation from layer (2). Height: One inch. Area A, TR.C2, St. (2). Period V. Not illustrated.

2. Pl. 88a: Circular coin mould of bronze showing, in profile, head of a male figure characterized by broad prominent features, big nose, and curly hair. The present illustration shows a cast from this mould. Area A, TR.D2, St. (3). Period IV.
3. Pl. 92a: (Reg. No. 494) Copper ear-ring of a thin rounded wire coiled at the ends, but subsequently opened Dia. 0.9". Found in association with the defensive wall. St. (1). Period V.
4. Pl. 92b: (Reg. No. 55) A wheel-shaped object of solid cast copper or bronze depicting a four petalled flower in the middle. It has elliptical holes on the outer ring. Two specimens were found in the excavation. Dia, 2½". Area A, TR.D2, St. (3). Period IV.
5. Pl. 93a: (Reg. No. 160) plaque of solid cast copper or bronze with embossed human figures on one side only; the other is flat. In the top centre is a flame-halo with two flanking devotees (also haloed) at a lower plane. The devotees are in a standing position with left proper hand of one and right proper hand of the other pointing downwards. The figures are outwardly inclined. There are four rectangular holes in the middle and the lower portion. It was found in parts. Area A, TR.D2, St. (3). Period IV.

9 SHELL AND IVORY OBJECTS.

Of the 40 examples found at Damkot bangles are represented by 38 and finger-rings by 2 specimens. Reg. No. 306 (Pl. 92a. 5) from TR. D4, St. (2) is a finger-ring consisting of a square-sectioned plain hoop. The other specimen (Reg. No. 131, TR.D2, St. (4), Pl. 92a. 4) exhibits comparatively finer finish and consists of a plain square sectioned hoop and a slightly raised bezel. Of the bangles, the major portion comes from the Hindu Shahi levels, though the earliest examples come from the Scytho-Parthian period at this site. It is worth pointing out that, notwithstanding the greater number of shell bangles from the uppermost strata, almost all the better examples are either referable to Period III or IV. The types and forms established in these horizons were carried on into the succeeding

phase but degenerated in quality. In period V shell bangle with projecting flange on either side of the outer face comes up as the arch-type.

The favourite motifs are: cable pattern, pipal leaf, chevrons, chequered design and file-edge pattern. The pattern is usually shown in low relief or by deep incision. In a few cases the design was sunk in the surface and filled up by red paste or precious stones. Traces of red paste are still visible in Reg. 116. Cable pattern first appears in period II at this site and so also the inlay technique. Bangles are classified as follows:—

- (a) Plain, with or without projecting flange on either edge
- (b) Decorated, with simple incised design.
- (c) Decorated, with design in low relief
- (d) Inlaid, with coloured stone or paste.

Selected examples are illustrated below: (Pl. 93b, No. 184)

1. (Reg. No. 473) Type a: fragment of shell bangle with square section and plain outer face. Area A, TR. B2, St. 1, period V.
2. (Reg. No. 106) type a: similar, with projecting flange on either side of the outer face. Area A, TR. C2, St. (2), Period V.
3. (Reg. No. 440) Type b. fragment of shell bangle with an incised line running in the middle of the outer face. Area A, TR. D2, St. 8, Period II.
4. (Reg. No. 505) Type b: similar, with file-edge pattern on the outer face. Area A, TR. D2, St. (9) Period II.
5. (Reg. No. 438) Type b: similar, with incised chequered design and opposite triangles on the outer face. It has holes for inlay. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.
6. (Reg. No. 425) Type c: fragment of shell bangle with cable pattern shown in relief on the outer face; smoothly polished from within. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2) Period V.
7. (Reg. No. 459) Type c: similar, with cable pattern on the outer face and smooth from within. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
8. (Reg. No. 152) Type c: similar, with conch-shell pattern and hatched diamonds shown in relief. Area A, TR. D2, St. (3), Period IV.

9. (Reg. No. 297) Type c: similar with flower pattern shown in relief. Area B, TR. B1, St. (1) Period V.
10. Fig. 17/16 (Reg. No. 125) Type c: similar, with over-lapping *pipal* leaf contained within border marked by incised line on either side. It comes from the 'water reservoir'. Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
11. Fig. 17/15 (Reg. No. 16) Type D: fragment of a shell bangle with *pipal* leaf decoration shown in relief and filled up with red paste of which traces are visible. Area A, TR. D2, St. 2, Period V.
12. Fig. 17/17 (Reg. No. 509) ivory; arrowhead, round in section, with a flange for fixing into wooden or reed shaft on one end; at the other it tapers towards a point. Area A, TR. C0, St. (3), Period IV. It can also be an antimony rod.
13. Fig. 17/14 (Reg. No. 73) Ivory; a small plaque (measuring 1.3 x 1.4 in.) depicting a pair of winged horses kept face to face, in low relief. The piece is cut along the outer contour of the horses' bodies. It is damaged at one end. Area A, TR. C2, St. (1) Period V.

10. GLASS BANGLES AND RINGS

More than two hundred specimens consisting of fragments of finger-rings (total; 10) and bangles (total: 191) were found in the excavation. Glass bangles of various shapes and colour tend to concentrate in the upper two layers so that only 13 fragments were found in layer (3) and this being the earliest level where they first appear. The relative number of specimens or their complete absence from certain horizons should not be taken as an index to their relative popularity or unpopularity for the simple reason hinted at below. Black glass seems to have been manufactured at Taxila from very early times (See Marshall, *Taxila*, ii, P. 684). Also the number of glass bangle fragments, when they make their first appearance, is quite appreciable at this site. Therefore the absence of glass from levels antedating layer (3) may be due to the restricted area brought under excavation.

Black and yellow with several shades are the favourite colours from first to last, having the largest number in layers (2) and (3). In the top stratum black is outnumbered by yellow and its variations. The black colour is often very shiny and can be mistaken for obsidian. The other

colours being violet, amber, blue and green in the similar order of frequency. Green is represented by the smallest number of specimens found mostly in the top layer. In some cases of glass bangles the colour of core is different from that of the surface. A few examples show strips of yellow and blue running parallel to each other on the outer face.

The most usual shape is that of a circle averaging from 1.8 in. to 2 inch in diameter. Forms of the section vary from elliptical, oval and very occasionally rectangular (with blunt angles) to circular. The most prominent type is flat on the inside and convex on the outside. Two specimens in black tend to be rather conical in section. A rare variety (only two pieces) is that of which yellow and blue strips are twisted like a cable (this is also referable to the top stratum). Another variety is relieved on the external face by means of a midrib (it is represented by three fragments from layer (2)). Another variety represented by a solitary specimen, in blue glass, is relieved by parallel horizontal grooves on the outer face which taper to one side making an almost triangular section. Still another variety shows the midrib having projecting bosses of different colours on the outside.

Selected examples are described below. None of them is illustrated.

1. (Reg. No. 529) Whitish: fragment of a glass bangle with black core; round in section. Dia. 2.4 in. Area A, TR. D1, St. (3), Period IV.
2. (Reg. No. 61) Green: fragment of a glass bangle, externally grooved and oval in section. Dia. 3 in. Area A. TR. D2, St. 2, Period V.
3. (Reg. No. 136) Black: small fragment of a glass bangle having yellow strips on the outer surface. It is elliptical in section Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
4. (Reg. No. 189) Black: fragment of a glass bangle with yellow coating. It is plano-convex in section. Dia. 2.1 in. Area A, TR. E2, St. (2), Period V.
5. (Reg. No. 445) yellow: fragment of a glass bangle relieved by deep horizontal grooves on the outer face. It is almost triangular in section. Dia. 2.3 in. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
6. (Reg. No. 262) Black: fragment of a glass bangle with a mid-rib on the outer face. Dia. 3 in. Area A, TR. C1, St. (3), Period IV.
7. (Reg. No. 417) combination of green and amber: fragment of a glass

bangle with mid-rib relieved by bosses of different colours. Dia. 2.3 in. Area A, TR. C1, St. (2), Period V.

8. (Reg. No. 9) combination of blue and green: fragment of glass bangle with yellow and green strips twisted in the fashion of cable pattern. It is ~~almost~~ round in section. Dia. 2.5 in. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.
9. (Reg. No. 136) Whitish: fragment of a glass bangle with grooved outer face. It is round in section. Dia. 2.6 in. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.

11 — BEADS

(of terracotta and stone)

Out of 130 beads obtained from excavation terracotta alone accounts for 84; the remaining 56 are represented by glass and stone. Most of the beads (as many as 122) are referable to periods IV and V; of the rest, three examples come from the lower-most two layers (see Distribution charts) and five from periods II and III. Evidently the beads tend to concentrate in the upper strata which covered comparatively larger area of the ground brought under excavation.

Of the various materials used for manufacturing beads terracotta apparently happened to be the prime favourite at all periods, probably owing to its easy availability. The second place is held by glass whereas carnelian, phyllitic schist and shell having equal representation come in the third place in the order of frequency. Lapis-lazuli, crystal and quartz also appeared in equal number. Agate and gold were only sparingly used.

The biconical beads (our type ii) are, invariably, hand-made and without any slip and characterized by a wider axial hole with striated lines or pin-hole decoration around the conical ends. These are often bulky in size and are occasionally provided with a prominent central ridge. This type is also duplicated in stone with the same distinctive features. The common use of this type and its wide chronological and spatial distribution on pre-historic as well as historic sites hardly needs stressing. At Kot Diji¹ and Mohenjodaro² biconical terracotta beads were found in abundant numbers. So also at Timargarha³ where they came to light in all the three periods.

1. Khan, F. A. *Pak: Archaeology* Vol. II, Excavation at Kot Diji. Pl. XXIX b.

2. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Pl. CIII, 16.

3. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. III P. 193, Pl. L, 1-4.

Similarly 26 specimens were obtained from the excavation of Balambat¹ where an unbroken continuity of this type was observed throughout the occupational period of this site. At Charsada it was a long-lived unspecialized type,² associated with material datable from 6th to 2nd century B.C. A fair sprinkling of them is recorded from Shaikhan Dheri.³ Available evidence from the excavated sites nearer to Damkot would apparently reveal some sort of associative tendency of the biconical beads with prehistoric times in this region. Its approximate position in the chronological framework will be better visualized when studied in association with conical beads (our type i).

Our type (i) is always wheel-turned and coated with a thin layer of light red or grey slip. It is characterized by a narrow axial hole and a somewhat convex sided cone and (as seen in many cases) there is a grooved circle at the bottom. In some examples it appears to have been burnished so that it resulted in a uniformity of colour on the surface. This is not entirely a new type in this region. Conical beads were found in association with Gandhara material, at Charsada, datable approximately from the second to the fourth century A.D.⁴ The evidence from Shaikhan Dheri conforms well with that of Charsada as the earliest occurrence of the type 'convex-cone with grooved-base' is assignable to the Scytho-Parthian levels.⁵ Presently, at Damkot, it makes its first appearance in layer (6) (ascribed to the 1st century B.C. and A.D.) and is preceded by type (ii) by a considerable depth of deposit. It would be reasonable therefore to say that the biconical beads have stronger affinity with the centuries preceding the Christian era.

Collared beads, having no analogues in stone at this site, are divided into two varieties. Variety (A) is collared at one end and flat at the bottom. It is often wheel turned and coated with fine greyish slip which nearly gives the effect of polish. The earliest specimen occurs in layer (9). Variety (B) is rather 'pot-bellied' in shape and is characterized with a pronounced lug-collar at one end and an almost rounded bottom. It is hand-made and without slip. Stratigraphically the former is earlier than the latter and is technologically related with type (i) mentioned above.

1. Op. Cit. P. 278, PL. LIV. b.

2. Wheeler, *Charsada*, P. 116 and Pl. XXXVII 1-9, Pl. XXXVIII, 1-2.

3. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, P. 129 (see distribution charts).

4. Wheeler, *Charsada*, P. 118, and Pl. XXXIX, and type III, variant, P. 118.

5. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II P. 129 (see Distribution Chart).

Distribution charts of Beads.

(of Stone, glass, shell and semi-precious stones)

(a):— According to material

Stratum.	Glass	Carne- lian	Lapis- Lazuli	Crys- tal	Green Schist	Phylli- tic schist	Agate	Shell	Gold	Quartz	Total
1	5	3	2	1	x	5	1	x	x	1	18
2	8	x	1	2	1	2	—	5	x	2	21
4	6	4	x	x	x	x	x	2	2	x	14
9	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2
11	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	1
Total.	20	8	3	3	2	7	1	7	2	3	56

(b):— According to shapes

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
Stratum.	Coni- cal	Biconi- cal	Spheri- cal	Cylind- rical	Disc- shaped	Tiny Beads	Corner less cube	Oblate	Pen- dant	Spacer	Ellip- tical	Total.
1	3	8	4	x	1	x	x	1	1	x	x	18
2	1	7	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	1	x	21
4	x	x	2	2	x	8	x	1	x	x	1	14
9	x	x	1	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2
11	1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1
Total	5	15	8	6	2	12	1	3	2	1	1	56

TERRACOTTA BEADS (Distribution chart)

Type	i			ii	iii	iv	v	vi		
Variety	A.	B.	C.							
Stratum.	Conical with out-groove	Conical with flat bottom	Conical with grooved bottom	Biconical	Spherical	Cylindrical	Collared	Gad-rooned.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
1	5	6	8	7	2	x	5	x	x	33
2	13	8	4	4	x	1	6	1	2	39
4	4	x	x	2	x	x	1	x	x	7
6	1	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	2
9	x	x	x	x	x	x	1	x	x	1
11	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	1
12	x	x	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	1
Total	23	14	12	15	2	1	14	1	2	84

Of the stone beads a smaller number of specimens exhibit fine polish speaking of some skillfulness on the part of the lapidaries. A solitary example of an unfinished crystal bead, found on the surface, may suggest the existence of local lapidaries. Be it as it may, an appreciable number of the beads shows that axial perforation was made with the help of a drill in a single operation which, in some cases, resulted in a small cavity or fracture at one end. There is only one example to illustrate that drilling was also occasionally practised from both ends but not very adroitly since it resulted in an obtuse angle.

There is only one etched carnelian bead. The pattern consisting of horizontally laid convex lines is etched in white on the natural colour of the stone

Selected examples are illustrated below:

1. TERRACOTTA BEADS (Pl. 94 a. No. 185)

1 (Reg. No. 224) T.C: type 1; convex cone with a deep groove at the

bottom around the axial hole. Turned and slipped light grey. Area A, TR. F4, St. (2), Period V.

2. (Reg. No. 483) T.C: type 1; similar, but the cone is short. Found in association with the defensive wall. St. (2), Period V.
3. (Reg. No. 163) T.C: type i; variant; similar, but without groove. Light red colour. Area A, TR. A1, St. (1), Period V.
4. (Reg. No. 342) T.C: type i, variant; similar, with long cone and grey colour. Area A, TR. E3, St. (2), Period V.
5. (Reg. No. 331) T.C: type i; convex cone with flat bottom. Coated with light grey slip. Area A, TR. C4, St. (2), Period V.
6. (Reg. No. 261) T.C: type i; similar. Area A, TR. B3, St. (1), Period V.
7. (Reg. No. 420) T.C: type ii; short barrel-bicone circular. It is a heavy bead with wide axial hole, hand-made and grey in colour. Area A, TR. D2, St. (12), Period I.
8. (Reg. No. 510) T.C: type ii; similar, with a central ridge. The axial hole is comparatively narrow; light red in colour. Area A, TR. D0, St. (3), Period IV.
9. (Reg. No. 526) T.C: type ii; similar but smaller in size; light red colour. Found with the defensive wall. St. (2), Period V.
10. (Reg. No. 292) T.C: type ii, variant; similar, with closely truncated cones; light red in colour. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
11. (Reg. No. 435) T.C: type ii; short barrel — bicone circular with a central groove. It is damaged at the apex of the cones and shows deep striations caused by some pointed object; grey in colour. Area A, TR. B1, St. (2), Period V.
12. (Reg. No. 166) T.C: type ii; barrel — bicone circular having pin-hole decoration around the cones. It shows striations caused by some metallic object. Light red in colour. Area A, TR. C3, St. (1), Period V.
13. (Reg. No. 229) T.C: type IV; short cylinder circular with slightly bevelled edges. It is light red in colour and wheel turned. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.

14. (Reg. No. 338) T.C: type V; small bead, light grey in colour, having a pronounced collar at one end; no slip. Area B, TR. A1, St. (2), Period V.
15. (Reg. No. 406) T.C: type V; similar, found with the defensive wall. St. (1), Period V.
16. (Reg. No. 521) T.C: type V; turned bead showing fine dark slip and collar at one end. Area A, TR. C1, St. (4), Period V.
17. (Reg. No. 465) T.C: type V, variant; similar, but having flat bottom. Area A, TR. C2, St. (3), Period IV.
18. (Reg. No. 154) T.C: type VI; *amalaka*-shaped or gadrooned bead of light grey colour. Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
19. (Reg. No. 344) T.C: miscellaneous; conical at one end and almost convex at the bottom. Decorated with incised radiating lines on the conical end. Light grey in colour. Area B, TR. B3, St. (2), Period V.
20. (Reg. No. 283) T.C: Miscellaneous; rough bead of grey colour with truncated long cone at one end and almost flat bottom. Area A, TR. R2, St. (2), Period V.

II — BEADS OF ORDINARY STONE (Pl. 91 a. No. 179)

(only better examples are illustrated)

1. (Reg. No. 328) Phyllite: type i; approximately conical bead with wide axial hole and double zigzags. Area B, TR. A1, St. (1), Period V.
2. (Reg. No. 512) Greenish Schist; type i; similar, having casual groups of triple zigzags. Area A, TR. D2, St. (11), Period I.
3. (Reg. No. 377) Phyllitic Schist: type i; similar, without any decoration. Area A, TR. C4, St. (1), Period V.
4. (Reg. No. 325) Greenish Schist: type i; conical bead with wide axial hole. Without decoration. Area A, TR. C1, St. (2), Period V.
5. (Reg. No. 376) Phyllitic Schist: type i; similar, plain. Area A, TR. A4, St. (1), Period V.

6. (Reg. No. 201) Phyllitic Schist: type ii; biconical bead with a deep central groove and comparatively narrow axial hole. Area A, TR. A4, St. (1), Period V.
7. (Reg. No. 30) Grey Schist: type v; discoidal bead with concentric grooves on one face. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.
8. (Reg. No. 535) Phyllitic Schist type v; discoidal bead, plain Area A, TR. F3, St. (2), Period V.
9. (Reg. No. 430) Green Schist: type vii; cornerless cube, plain. Area A, TR. B3, St. (2), Period V.

III — BEADS OF SEMI-PRECIOUS STONES, GLASS AND SHELL

(Pl. 94 b. No. 186)

1. (Reg. No. 263) Crystal: type ii; barrel biconical hexagonal. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
2. (Reg. No. 149) Agate: type ii; barrel biconical elliptical. Area A, TR. C2, St. (1), Period V.
3. (Reg. No. 34) Blue glass: type ii; barrel biconical circular. Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
4. (Reg. No. 379) Pale glass: type ii; short barrel biconical circular. Area A, TR. C4, St. (1), Period V.
5. (Reg. No. 202) Black glass: type ii; short barrel biconical circular. Decoration consists of whitish strips in the form of loops. Area A, TR. C1, St. (1), Period V.
6. (Reg. No. 248) Yellow glass: type ii; short barrel biconical circular with traces of gold wash. Area A, TR. D4, St. (2), Period V.
7. (Reg. No. 552) Crystal: type iii; spherical. Area A, TR. D3, St. (2), Period V.
8. (Reg. No. 432) Carnelian: type iii; spherical. Area B, TR. A3, St. (3), Period V.
9. (Reg. No. 162) Quartz: type iii; similar. Area A, TR. C2, St. (1), Period V.

10. (Reg. No. 183) Shell: type iv; short cylinder circular. Area A, TR. F2, St. (2), Period V.
11. (Reg. No. 110) Shell: type iv; short cylinder nearly circular. Area A, TR. D2, St. (1), Period V.
12. (Reg. No. 79) Glass: type iv; cylinder circular. Area A, TR. D2, St. (3), Period IV.
13. (Reg. No. 151) Lapis-lazuli: type iv; short cylinder circular. Area A, TR. D2, (top soil), Period V.
14. (Reg. No. 523) Carnelian: type viii; Oblate spheroid. This is the only example of an etched bead. The pattern consists of horizontally laid convex lines in white on the natural colour of stone. Area A, TR. D1, St. (4), Period IV.
15. (Reg. No. 394) Rosy quartz: type iii; oblate spheroid. Area B, TR. A1, St. (2), Period V.
16. (Reg. No. 33) Carnelian: type viii; similar. Area A, TR. D2, (top-soil), Period V.
17. (Reg. No. 429) Shell: type ix; dagger pendant. Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
18. (Reg. No. 260) Lapis-lazuli: type ix; drop pendant with two holes. Area A, TR. C3, (top soil), Period V.
19. (Reg. No. 243) Shell: type x; spacer, tabular double holed. Area A, TR. A4, St. (2), Period V.
20. (Reg. No. 453) Carnelian: type xi; elliptical and nearly tabular. It has a sunk human design on one face. Area A, TR. B2, St. (3), Period IV.

12 — IRON OBJECTS

Iron is represented by an appreciable number of implements, tools and weapons and by innumerable fragments (some of them rather tiny and indeterminate, others too oxidised to leave anything behind except a discolouration of the soil). Stratigraphically, the earliest of the iron frag-

ments, ~~very few in number~~, were seen in layer (10). In the subsequent levels, however, ~~their number~~ increased considerably. Iron objects from the uppermost two layers were found in a comparatively good state of preservation. Most of the tools (to be described below) found *in situ* come from the smith's shop. Scattered in the living rooms were found various types of nails, hooks, timber-joiners, series of chains, rings and other household objects like needles, knives, sickles and a spoon. The most remarkable finds consist of arrow-heads of different types. The associative tendency of some of the arrow-heads (particularly our type b) is noteworthy. Iron objects fall into the following functional groups:

- i) Blacksmith's and Carpenter's tools,
- ii) Agricultural implements,
- iii) Arms,
- iv) Miscellaneous.

I — BLACKSMITH'S AND CARPENTER'S TOOLS

With the exception of two examples (Reg. No. 52, and 540) all these tools come from the smith's shop (as indicated above) and must be considered contemporary with it. Let it be repeated here that the said workshop is stratigraphically assigned to Period V. The entire assemblage of these tools may be classified into (a) chisels, (b) fire tongs, (c) hammers and (d) anvil. These are described below:

(a) CHISELS

Four specimens were found in the excavation: two of them in a good state of preservation and the rest heavily encrusted and partly damaged. According to their shapes the chisels may be divided into (1) square bar tool (Fig. 15/1) with slightly splayed double slope cutting edge and squared off top apparently made so for insertion into a metal sheath which not only covered it on the top but also at all sides. The sheath itself was supported in its position by small protuberances at the shoulders of the tools. As indicated by the sharp cutting edge and thin profile this type of the chisel looks very suitable for woodwork. Type (2) is a round bar carpenter's chisel (Fig. 15/2) tapering gradually from the top downward to a splayed crescentic cutting edge. The present example is damaged at the top. Type (3) is again a round bar tool (Fig. 15/3) tapering gradually to a circular point. It was probably used for piercing holes into metal sheets or similar other hard materials. Its top appears to be much hammered and almost rectangular in form.

The distant prototype of our type (1) can be traced back to the Indus Civilization. A large number of vaguely analogous tools was found in Mohenjodaro¹ and Harappa showing somewhat broadened shoulders and slightly splayed cutting edge. Even the earliest examples from Bhir Mound² also indicate the same idea. The common use of similar chisels at present in the same region is highly representative of the force of conservatism. It seems indeed that the smith's kit of tools was subjected to little change in the course of centuries.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Fig. 15/1 (Reg. No. 540) Iron: type (1); square bar chisel for wood-work, nearly square in section, showing slightly splayed cutting edge. Top sheath missing. Length: 7 in. Area A, TR. C4, St. (2), Period V.
2. Fig. 15/2 (Reg. No. 52) Iron: type (2); round bar metal chisel for wood-work with double slope and splayed crescentic cutting edge. Top is missing. Length: 2.5 in. Area A, TR. D2, St. (2), Period V.
3. Fig. 15/3 (Reg. No. 557) Iron: type (3); round bar metal chisel with horizontally pierced square top and a rounded point. It is slightly curved below the neck. Length: 8 in. From smith's shop. St. (2), Period V.

(b) FIRE TONGS

Only one pair (Reg. No. 556) was found at Damkot in layer (2) from the smith's shop. It is of the ordinary type and shows striking resemblance with those found at Taxila (Comp. Marshall *Taxila* iii, Pl. 167, No. 130). Similar fire tongs were very common in the Mediterranean from the Roman times onwards (see Petrie, *tools and weapons*, P. 41). The present example measures sixteen and a half inches in length.

(c) HAMMERS

Two specimens are recorded. Reg. No. 558 (Fig. 15/6), assignable to Period IV, is a square-sectioned flat-faced and thick-set hammer, 4.5 inch in length with a round hole (dia. 1 inch) almost in the middle for receiving wooden handle. It was most probably used for ordinary hammering. Reg.

1. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Pl. CXXX, 1

2. *Taxila* ii, P. 553.

No. 560 (Fig. 15/9) from the same workshop is a different type. It is much smaller in size and is socketed in the middle. It has gradual slope towards both arms — round at one end and oblong at the other. Of the two, the former can well be compared with those found at Taxila (Comp. Marshall, *Taxila* iii Pl. 167, No. 138).

(d) ANVIL

Only one example (Reg. No. 561, Fig. 15/8) came to light. It is of solid bar type, square in section, and tapering downwards to 3". Square bottom. The working face is slightly convex and measures 4.5 inches square. Height: 4.5". It reveals striking resemblance with those found by Marshall (Comp. *Taxila* iii, Pl. 167, No. 149).

II — AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

These implements are represented by three *rambis* and two sickles. Stratigraphically all of them are assignable to Period V. It may be noted that our *rambi* — an ordinary tool used for breaking ground and weeding purposes, is of the unsocketed type with a narrow chisel-like blade and curved tang for wooden grip. The sickles are of the curved blade type quite familiar at Taxila (Comp. Marshall, *Taxila* iii, Pl. 169, No. 203, 204). Whether there was a tang or socket at the end which received wooden grip cannot be determined due to the poor state of preservation of these specimens. It can be said, however, on the analogy of those from Taxila that the end was probably flattened out and pierced with a hole and slightly curved at the sides for the attachment of wooden handle.

(ILLUSTRATIONS)

1. Fig. 16/10 (Reg. No. 478) Iron: *rambi* with a narrow blade thinned out and splayed towards the nearly crescentic working edge at one end; at the other, it has a curved tang to be fitted into a wooden grip. Breadth of blade: 1 in; length including tang: 5.5 in. Found in association with the defensive wall. St. (2), Period V.
2. Fig. 16/11 (Reg. No. 480) Iron: sickle with curved blade and plain inner edge. It is much damaged. Area A, TR. F2, St. (2), Period V.

III — ARMS

Weapons of the offensive nature consist of arrow-heads (total: 37) and

two knife blades. Devoid of any special feature the knife blades are made of straight iron bar sharpened at one edge only. Reg. No. 275 (Fig. 16/19) is 6.5" in length and 0.9" in breadth. Back of the blade is 0.19" thick. It is provided with a small tang for fixing into wooden grip. The other (Reg. No. 413) is much damaged and equally featureless. It shows a slight curve near the tip. Measurements: breadth = 0.1" actual length could not be determined. It is illustrated in Fig. 16/20.

Of the arrow-heads 37 are represented by iron and one by ivory. They reveal not only a variety of shapes but also tend to concentrate in specific groups assignable to certain horizons. The earliest among them come from the fourth stratum. It may be a mere coincidence that all the specimens found in this layer are of the trilobed or flanged type. That this type is conspicuous by its absence in the upper strata is very clear in the excavation but should not be emphasized without further probe. As the evidence stands at present one can say that the type 'trilobe' arrow-head was the prime favourite when layer (4) accumulated on this site. In Period V when human activity was at its best, the arrow-heads have a different story to tell. These are classified as under: -

- a) Socketed
- b) Tanged
- c) Double tanged
- d) Conical
- e) Trilobe.

(a) Socketed

This type is represented by four specimens all referable to layer (2). They were found in a good state of preservation. Intended primarily for receiving shaft made of wood or reed, the socketed arrow-head is provided with a circular hollow socket (Dia. 0.4") and a square sectioned tip gradually tapering towards a pointed end. Reg. No. 92 still shows the remnants of decayed wood. It is noteworthy that unlike others, the socketed arrow-heads are somewhat squattish, measuring 2" on the average.

(ILLUSTRATION)

1. Fig. 16/12 (Reg. No. 378) Iron: socketed arrow-head with circular hollow socket and square-sectioned tip which gradually tapers towards a point. Length: 2.5". Area A, TR. C4, St. (2), Period V.

(b) Tanged

Tanged arrow-heads have the largest number — 22 in all, of which nine come from layer (1) and thirteen from layer (2). The smallest and the largest among them measures 3" and 5" respectively. Long, thin and square-sectioned, they show small tang intended for insertion into wooden or reed shaft. These are comparatively light in weight and well-suited to cover long range. Their occurrence in the uppermost two strata in larger numbers reveals that the tanged arrow-heads superseded their trilobed and socketed counterparts almost to the complete extinction of the former on this site. It may also be significant to note that our type (b) does not go earlier than layer (2) and is associated with the Hindu Shahi coins. At Taxila however it makes an early appearance and seems to have been relegated to secondary position at a later date by other sophisticated types.¹ But here, it comes up as the principal type. Most simple in manufacture to economise material and most effective for covering long range, it appears to be perfectly in line with the mountain strategy. A variant of this type (one specimen) is rather short and squattish.

(ILLUSTRATION)

1. Fig. 16/13 (Reg. No. 290) Iron: type b; tanged arrow-head with square cross-section and slightly damaged tang. Length: 3 in. Area A, TR. D4, St. (1), Period V.
2. Fig. 16/14 (Reg. No. 168) Iron: type b; variant; tanged arrow-head with square cross-section showing heavy and squattish tip and a long thin tang. Length: 3 in. Area A, TR. D3, St. (1), Period V.

(c) Double Tanged

This type is represented by 7 specimens assignable to the top-most stratum. The distinctive feature of this type is the considerable length of solid shank intervening the two tangs — the one at the base being intended for inserting into wooden arrow-shaft. Sir John Marshall who found similar arrow-heads from the uppermost stratum of Bhir Mound remarks that this type forms 'a compromise between the socketed and tanged' arrow-heads (see Marshall, *Taxila* ii, P. 547).

(ILLUSTRATION)

1. Fig. 16/15 (Reg. No. 259) Iron: type c; arrow-head with square cross-section and double tang. Length: 3.6 in. Area A, TR. D3, St. (1), Period V.

1. Marshall, *Taxila* ii, P. 547.

2. Fig. 16/16 (Reg. No. 363) Iron: type c; arrow-head with rhombic cross-section and double tang. Length: 3.6 in. Area A, TR. B4, St. (1), Period V.

(d) Conical

This type is represented by two specimens — one each of iron and ivory (for the latter see 'ivory objects'). The former bearing Reg. No. 466 from Area A, TR. C2, St. (2) (Fig. 16/17) is conical in form and tapers gradually towards the pointed end which is slightly damaged. The tang is likewise circular in section. Length: 1.6" (For comparison see Marshall, *Taxila* iii, Pl. 165, No. 87). The two examples are almost identical.

(e) Trilobe

Trilobed arrow-heads (total: 3) are stratigraphically referable to Period IV. All the specimens are heavily encrusted. They differ from other types not only in shape but also in bulk and weight. They have their exact parallels at Shaikhan Dheri¹ and Taxila.² Marshall suggested that this type of arrow-head was introduced by the Sakas at Taxila and probably used by the White Huns who wrought havoc to the Buddhist monasteries in the fifth century A.D.³ At Shaikhan Dheri the type goes back even to the post-Greek levels⁴ with a larger concentration, however, in the Kushana Period.

(ILLUSTRATION)

1. Fig. 16/18 (Reg. No. 454) Iron: type c; trilobe arrow-head with slightly curved tang. Length: 4.8 in. Area A, TR. C2 B2 BK, St. (4), Period IV.

IV — MISCELLANEOUS

1. Fig. 16/21 (Reg. No. 403) Iron: nail with looped head. Length: 3.6 in. Area A, TR. E4, St. (1), Period V.
2. Fig. 16/22 (Reg. No. 221) Iron: nail with conical top and curve at the pointed end. Length 2". Area A, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
3. Fig. 16/23 (Reg. No. 336) Iron: nail with umbrella-shaped top. Length: 1.5". Area A, TR. E4, St. (2), Period V.

1. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, P. 119.

2. Marshall, *Taxila* III, Pl. 206, No. 42 and Pl. 165, No. 88.

3. *Ibid.*, *Taxila* II, P. 548.

4. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, P. 119.

4. Fig. 16/24 Pl. XXVIII, 6 (Reg. No. 255) Iron: ring made of oblong sectioned beaten wire with a pierced hole along the perimeter. Dia. 1.5" Area A, TR. B4, St. (1), Period V.
5. Fig. 16/25 Pl. XXVIII, 7 (Reg. No. 231) Iron: ring made of round beaten wire. Dia. 0.8". Area A, TR. D4, St. (2), Period V.
6. Fig. 16/26 (Reg. No. 334) Iron: laddle with shallow bowl measuring 3.2" in diameter and a long handle rolled in the manner of a rope. Much damaged. Area B, TR. A2, St. (1), Period V.
7. Fig. 16/27 (Reg. No. 286) Iron: ornamental door boss with a nail in the centre; much damaged. Area A, TR. B0, St. (2), Period V.
8. Fig. 16/28 Pl. XXVIII, 8 (Reg. No. 31) Iron: fish-hook with a small loop at one end for holding skin. Area A, TR. E4, St. (2), Period V.
9. Fig. 16/29 Pl. XXVIII, 9 (Reg. No. 277) Iron: fish-hook with one end flattened to be tied to string. The pointed end is sharply curved. Area A, TR. A2, St. (1), Period V.
10. Fig. 16/30 (Reg. No. 238) Iron: long needle with an eye at one end and pointed at the other. It is round in section and measures 5.5" in length. Area A, TR. D4 St. (2), Period V.

13 — STONE OBJECTS

(i) *TURNED STONES*

Four pieces of turned stone were found in the excavation. Of these, two fragments (from layer (2)) appear to be the parts of a shallow basin of schist with externally projecting triangular lugs. These are heavier and thick-sectioned. The fourth piece comes from layer (11) and is lighter in weight and decorated. These are illustrated below:

1. Fig. 17/12 (Reg. No. 498) Schist: fragment of a shallow basin with triangular lugs projecting externally a little below the rounded rim. It shows remnants of ashes. Area A, TR. E4, St. (2), Period V.
2. Fig. 17/11 (Reg. No. 235) Soap stone: rim fragment of a large open-mouthed bowl with sloping sides. Area B, TR. B2, St. (2), Period V.
3. Fig. 17/10 (Reg. No. 508) Green schist: fragment of a small saucer with

a carved wheat plant pattern placed in a loop on the interior and a band of criss-cross pattern on the exterior. Area A, TR. D2, St. (11), Period I.

(ii) LAMPS¹

Nine lamps of stone (and several of terracotta) were brought to light in excavation. Most of the lamps are made of schist of which several varieties — green, grey and micacious, are represented whereas soap stone accounts for two. Only one specimen (Reg. No. 500) is of the ornamental type. It has three small projections carved in the pattern of lotus flower along the inner face of its rim which shows a rough bead-and-reel moulding. The rest are devoid of any ornamentation except striated lines or circles here and there. The usual shapes are: (a) shallow bowl, (b) heart-shaped, (c) elliptical in form, (d) with conjoined handle straps. Our type (b) has close parallels from Shaikhan Dheri,² Charsada³ and Taxila.⁴ Most remarkable among the stone lamps is our type (d). Cut out of a cubical lump of stone this lamp is divided on the upper face (not on the inner bottom) into four nearly equal compartments. Reg. No. 562 is most peculiar in that it has the figure of a seated Buddha carved in low-relief. These are described below (Pl. 95, No. 187):—

1. Fig. 17/2 (Reg. No. 511) Grey schist: type a; lamp in the form of a shallow bowl with flat-topped externally projecting rim having groups of incised lines and two circles with a central dot flanking the wick channel partly damaged. Area A, TR. D2, St. (3), Period IV. No. 1-a is of terracotta and has a shallow bowl.
2. Fig. 17/3 (Reg. No. 195) Grey schist: type a; variant; much damaged small lamp in the form of a shallow bowl with sloping sides and provision for wick; plain. Area A, TR. C3, St. (1), Period V.
3. Fig. 17/6 (Reg. No. 501) Grey schist: type a, variant; lamp in the form of a shallow bowl carved, only internally, out of a lump of stone. Externally it is not detached from the core; plain. Area B, TR. A2, Period V.
4. Fig. 17/1 (Reg. No. 500) Micacious schist: type b; heart-shaped lamp with provision for wick on one side. It has three internal projections

1. Pottery lamps are also included.

2. *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, P. 118, No. 14.

3. Wheeler, Fig. 51, No. 8.

4. Marshall, ii, 500.

carved in the pattern of lotus flower. Area B, TR. A2, St. (3), Period IV.

5. Fig. 17/5 (Reg. No. 355) Green schist: type b, variant; approximately heart-shaped lamp; plain. Area B, TR. A2, St. (3), Period IV.
6. Fig. 17/4 (Reg. No. 534) Grey schist: type c; plain lamp elliptical in shape with provision for one wick. Area A, TR. E4, St. (2), Period V.
7. Fig. 17/7 (Reg. No. 490) Green schist: type c, variant; plain lamp elliptical in shape with provision for one wick and external striations. Area A, TR. E4, St. (1), Period V.
8. Fig. 17/9 (Reg. No. 563) Soapstone: type d; almost cubical lamp of stone with four conjoined handle straps; probably provision for four wicks. It is decorated with sunk triangles on the upper surface; the bottom remains uncarved and shows original lump stone. It is 1.7" square and 1" deep. Area A, TR. D3 St. (3). Period. IV.
9. Fig. 17/8 (Reg. No. 562) Soapstone: type d; similar, but bigger in size. Decoration consists of two rows of upright and inverted triangles sunk on the compartmented top face. It is a unique example among the lamps in that it has the figure of seated Buddha in *dhyanamudra* carved in low-relief on the bottom (underside). Its corners are blackened by soot. Area T, TR. D3, St. (3), Period IV.

Terracotta lamps came up in large number. Except for a few examples which show grey patches on the surface, probably, due to ill-firing, all the lamps are fired red. Several of them, particularly from the 'water reservoir' are brand new betraying not the slightest sign of use. These are grouped into: (a) cup-shaped with flat base (the cup being pinched upon one side for wick). (b) cup-shaped but pinched upon three sides for three wicks, (c) ash-tray type. Our type (a) (Fig. 17/18-20) has the largest number. These lamps have, invariably, straight featureless rim and in most cases sides of the cup are somewhat slanting so that they taper down towards the bottom. Type (b) (Fig. 17/21, 21a) is represented by two examples from the uppermost layer. The ash-tray type (Fig. 17/22) is characterised with thick sides having an inward inclination and rather stumpy proportions. As the evidence stands at present, it is difficult to pinpoint any one type having associative tendency towards a particular stratigraphical horizon, except that most of the terracotta lamps which fall under our types (a) and (c) were found in layers (3) and (4).

III — WHETSTONES AND POUNDERS

Apart from the harder portions of rock of the hill used for sharpening implements, a sizeable number of whetstones or sharpeners came to light in excavation, mostly from the upper two strata. The whetstones are invariably rectangular shaped lumps of stone very often **not** carefully modelled except the smooth upper face which (in one case) shows irregularities caused by deep scratches which appear to have been made in the course of sharpening **some** implement. An interesting example, in calcite, from TR. D0, St. (3) (Fig. 17/13) is nearly rectangular with a projected ridge on the underside and two narrow holes on one end. It measures three inches in length. The rest are made of granite or quartzite.

Grinding stones or pounders (Fig. 18/7, 8), made of gneiss or granite are usually cylindrical in shape. As the river pebbles were quite at hand those of the suitable shape were occasionally picked up and used for the same purpose. Some of the specimens are worn off in the middle by long use and appear to be flattened on one side. Others are almost elliptical in section. Still others have rounded or flat ends meant for crushing (may be used as pestles). They measure from 4 to 6 in. in length, on the average.

IV — GRINDING MILLS

As much as eight grinding mill stones were found at different levels. In one case from layer (3) the grinding mill was found **complete** with the upper and lower parts intact. In most cases the individual stones were found scattered or lying topsy-turvy. In shape they are very much similar to each other and do not exhibit any change. These are all made of granite which is locally available in ample quantities. Two similar stones (parts of one grinding mill) from Area B, TR. D.D. II, St. (7) can be seen *in situ* in Pl. 83 b.No. 163. Here, as in all other cases, the upper stone is slightly concave on the bottom while the bottom stone is correspondingly convex on the top face. These are pierced in the middle to receive an iron axil. The upper-stone is also furnished with a socket for wooden handle. Similar grinding mills are reported from Taxila (see Marshall, *Taxila* ii, P. 488 and iii, Pl. 140, Nos. 27, 29). Two other specimens of much bigger size and rather flat on the working side with a wider central hole were found marking the floor level in TR. C2 (Pl. 72 a.) and D2.

V — POLISHED STONE TOOLS

Three ground stone tools of the type 'pointed — butt-axe' were found in layer (12), associated with the grey potsherds. Two of them are made of

gneiss which is abundantly available in the form of rocky outcrops and river pebbles and suggestive of their local origin. The unfinished state of Reg. No. 551 (Fig. 18/5) is indicative of the process involved in the manufacture of such tools. It appears that rolled river pebbles of the suitable shape were given preference as it saved some labour necessary for primary flaking. With a little bit of effort the desired shape was obtained by means of pecking. The finishing touch was given by grinding the tool, particularly on both sides of the cutting edge.

Highly significant as the occurrence of these tools in a stratified deposit is, it is no less important in view of the context in which they were found. The unmistakable association of the ground stone tools with burnished grey ware having characteristic mat-impression is for the first time known in this region. Now burnished grey ware is coming up as the principal ceramic tradition of the second half of the second millennium B.C. in this part of the country (for details see Chronology and comparison). Therefore it may not be a mere guess to say that the ground stone tools of the pointed-butt axe type also belong to the same period of time.

A group of three other similar polished tools were found embedded in the floor of a rock-shelter at Chinagai opposite Damkot. Buried under a three-feet-thick deposit which yielded rather late pottery types, the tools were here unaccompanied by any grey sherds. All the six examples are described below.

1. Fig. 18/6 (Reg. No. 502) Serpentinised Peridotite: a small ground stone tool of the 'pointed-but-axe' type with a slightly splayed crescentic cutting edge and elliptical section. It is damaged on the butt-end and there are small cavities on one face of the cutting edge probably made by rough handling. It is highly polished all over. Present length: 2.6". Area A, TR. D2, St. (11), Period I.
 2. Fig. 18/4 (Reg. No. 409) Gneissic Diorite: this is also flattish but much bigger than the one described above. It is almost oval in section. The cutting edge is completely broken and only flake scars can be seen on both sides indicating the rough kind of job to which it was put. Pecking is visible on the surface. Area A, TR. D2, St. (11), Period I.
 3. Fig. 18/5 (Reg. No. 551) Hornblende felspar gneiss: this is an unfinished specimen and shows signs of pecking as well as primary flaking.
1. The stones were very kindly identified by Mr. M. Qasim Jan of the Geology Deptt. Peshawar University.

Originally a river rolled pebble it shows a rounder curve upon one side; the other is somewhat flattish. Flake scars can be seen on the surface. Length: 5.6". Area A, TR. D2, St. (11), Period I.

4. Fig. 18/1 (Chinagai Rockshelter) Reddish gneiss: is a longish ground stone tool with pointed butt-end and slightly curved medial cutting edge. It is almost asymmetrical in shape and oval in section. Both faces of the cutting edge are highly polished. Pecking is observable on the main body. Length: 8.2". in.
5. Fig. 18/2 (Chinagai Rockshelter) Reddish gneiss: is a longish ground stone tool with somewhat flattened butt-end. It is oval in section and shows a medial cutting edge slightly curved in the middle. Both faces of the cutting edge are highly polished. It is slightly damaged at the butt-end. Length: 8.4 in.
6. Fig. 18/3 (Chinagai Rockshelter) Reddish gneiss: same as above but smaller in size. The cutting edge is straight. Length: 6.7 in.

14. — SCULPTURES

(of stone, terracotta and clay)

Almost all the sculptures were found in a much worn out and fragmentary condition; even their number is few and far between. It has been pointed earlier that all the interesting examples were found lying topsy-turvy (see Pl. 71a) in the 'water reservoir', only a little above the bottom, in association with several tiny stupa models of clay, a large number of pottery lamps and innumerable glass bangles. A little above that came to light a terracotta tablet with Buddhist creed formula and a copper (bronze) coin mould and a plaque of cast copper with embossed figures on one side.

The most remarkable among the sculptures is the one (Reg. No. 88, see title cover). It consists of a rectangular panel, measuring eight-and-a-half by six inches at the maximum points with the upper side slightly projected upwards to accommodate the halo. Raised against one side of this panel and carved in low-relief is the figure of the Buddha in *dharmachakramudra* seated cross-legged upon a throne which is supported by lions — one in each corner; The throne or seat is provided with a solid back rest and is marked by lotus petals on the lowest margin. Hair of the Buddha, shown in small ringlets passing over the prominent *ushnisha*, is rather conventionalised though in line with the whole scheme. On the forehead and just between brows a small *urna* is shown in relief. Half opened and

somewhat oblique eyes, full fleshy cheeks, well rounded chin and elongated earlobes are the characteristic facial features. Tip of the nose is slightly injured. The drapery, covering both the shoulders, is well-delineated with deep incised lines making formal curves (those below neck are slightly raised in V-shape pattern); while lappets of the garment fall in the form of loops. Near the knees of the Buddha can be seen two elephants(head of one is visible; the other on the left proper is slightly damaged) emerging from the back-ground with leogryphs upon their heads. In the upper zone and flanking the flame halo there are two makaras ejecting scrolls from their mouths.¹

A word about the technique of making would be appropriate here. It appears that after moulding the figures into shape, the plaque was baked red and then treated with limewash. Subsequently blue (on the eyes) and red colours were applied. The finishing touch was given by gold wash which can be seen on the face and halo.

Equally impressive is a Buddha head (Reg. No. 87) in clay, not baked in this case, found in the same context. The facial features are moulded upon the core which consists of kneaded clay mixed up with grits. The overall finish was done by a thick layer of limewash. Traces of some shiny substance are also visible. Pupils of the eyes are marked with red colour whereas eyelids are provided with blue margins. Size of the head, measuring six-and-a-half inches in height, is medium. It has half opened eyes, a prominent *ushnisha*, elongated ear-lobes, well rounded chin, not very high nose and full fleshy cheeks. *Urna* is absent in this case. The hair is plain as if smoothly combed back. Top of the head is given black colour probably suggesting black hair. Most remarkable however is the facial expression so successfully rendered that one is at once struck by the lovely smile characteristic of a young countenance. In style it is very much close to Buddhist stuccoes from Taxila which probably served as a source of inspiration. Much of this success however may be due to the plasticity of the material.

Terracotta and clay figures exclusively Buddhist in character and several among them 'pieces of surpassing merit' found at Taxila were as-

1. This type of plaque manufacture is unique in Gandhara. Even the style of decoration of the sides by leogryphs standing on elephant and makara ejecting scrolls, is unknown in Gandhara. But in the Ganges Valley this style is known from the Gupta period onwards. Compare, for example, the well-known Sarnath Buddha (*V.A. Smith: A history of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Pl. 60 a.) where we note this type of representation on either side of the Buddha. It is therefore clear that this type, if not an actual import, was based on the Gupta period model. —Editor.

cribed to fourth and fifth centuries by Marshall (*Taxila*, ii, P. 468). Damkot, being situated in the same orbit where Buddhist art in its later stages appeared in stucco and clay, must conform to the prevailing traditions. Implication of this evidence is not inconsistent with that of other finds. Recent archaeological reconnaissance in Dir has brought to light several Buddhist stupas where stucco and terracotta mark the final stage. At Bambolai it was found that towards the end of this site schist was only very sparingly employed for making sculptures as the meagre number of specimens in this material would indicate; whereas the use of stucco, clay and terracotta emerged as the dominant tradition. All sorts of Buddhist sculptures like the figures of Buddha with traditional features, Bodhisattvas with profusely ornamented headress, yaksas or atlantis with grotesque physical features and those of laymen appear to have been successfully practised there. Now Bambolai can be very well equated with Damkot-IV in that the use of clay (baked or otherwise) and rectangular plan of stupas is common to both sites. It is not unlikely that stucco held its dominance at this site as well but has been washed down in the course of time. This idea is corroborated by a corresponding paucity of stone sculptures on both sites.

(LIST OF STONE SCULPTURES)

1. Pl. 96, No. 188 (Reg. No. 234) Grey Schist: (part of the jamb of a false niche) slab showing the figures of Buddha in two successive tiers; the lower one is completely missing with the exception of top-knot and part of head. In the upper tier is the figure of Buddha, in high relief, seated upon an inverted lotus throne in *Abhaya mudra*. Head is missing. Folds of the drapery are indicated by double lines starting from the V-shaped curve in front of the neck. It must be late Gandhara product. Height: 10". Area B, TR. A2, St. (4), Period IV.
2. 97 a. No. 189. 1 (Reg. No. 148) Grey Schist: (part of a false niche jamb with tenon on one side). It depicts balcony scene in low-relief. Two ladies separated by a column can be seen looking down the railing which itself consists of upright posts and horizontal bars. In the much damaged upper tier of which only a small portion remains can be seen a human figure seated upon an inverted lotus throne with one hand in the lap. It may be the figure of Buddha in *dhyana mudra*. Height: 6" Area A, TR.D2, St. (3), Period IV.
3. Pl.97 a. No. 189. 2 (Reg. No. 387) Grey Schist: (part of a false niche jamb with tenon on one side). It depicts railing in low relief, consisting of three upright posts and two horizontal bars. Height: 5" Area B, TR. B2, St. (4), Period IV.

4. Pl. 97 a. No. 189. 3 (Reg. No. 388) Grey Schist: part of panel depicting Buddha and two devotees on his right proper. The figures are much worn off and damaged. Height: 3.6" Area A, TR. D3, St. (3), Period IV.
5. 97 b. No.190. 1. (Reg. No. 147) Grey Schist: highly ornamented head of a Bodhisattva in high relief with half closed eyes and a cavity for *urna* on the forehead. The hair, visible near the ears, is finely combed back. Much worn off and damaged. Height: 5" Area A, TR. D2, St. (3), Period IV.
6. Pl. 97 b. No.190. 2 (Reg. No. 72) Green Phyllite with particles of magnetite: head of a lady, in low relief, wearing a triple pointed crown shown against a circular halo. Eyes are fully opened. She wears something in the much elongated ear lobes. Much worn off. Height: 4" Area A, TR. D2, St. (3), Period IV.
7. (Reg. No. 388-a) Grey Schist: a much damaged part of a panel depicting flower. Area A, TR. D3, St. (3), Period IV. Not illustrated.
8. (Reg. No. 566) Grey Schist: much damaged torso of a human figure showing folds of drapery, in low relief, flowing from a V-shaped curve in front of the throat. Height: 6", surface find. Not illustrated.
9. (Reg. No. 356) Grey Schist: much weathered head of a Bodhisattva in high relief showing elaborate headdress and prominent ushnisha. Height: 3.6 in. Area B, TR. B2, St. (4), Period IV.

15. — THE POTTERY

The great mass of pottery found in plentiful numbers at all stratigraphical horizons in the excavation comprised, largely, of sherds, though a number of complete pots were also recovered from some occupational strata. A few large storage-jars with tall as well as globular body very often decorated with applied cordons were found *in situ* and almost complete in form (see Pls. 71 b, 75 a, 79 b).

A careful analysis of hundreds of potsherds, their succession and overlapping in stratigraphical strata has revealed a sort of associative tendency of some ceramic types towards specific periods which lends them special interest. The Grey Ware, for example, does not extend beyond Gap II (i.e. St. (10)). So is the case with the 'Decorated Pedestalled Bowl' the

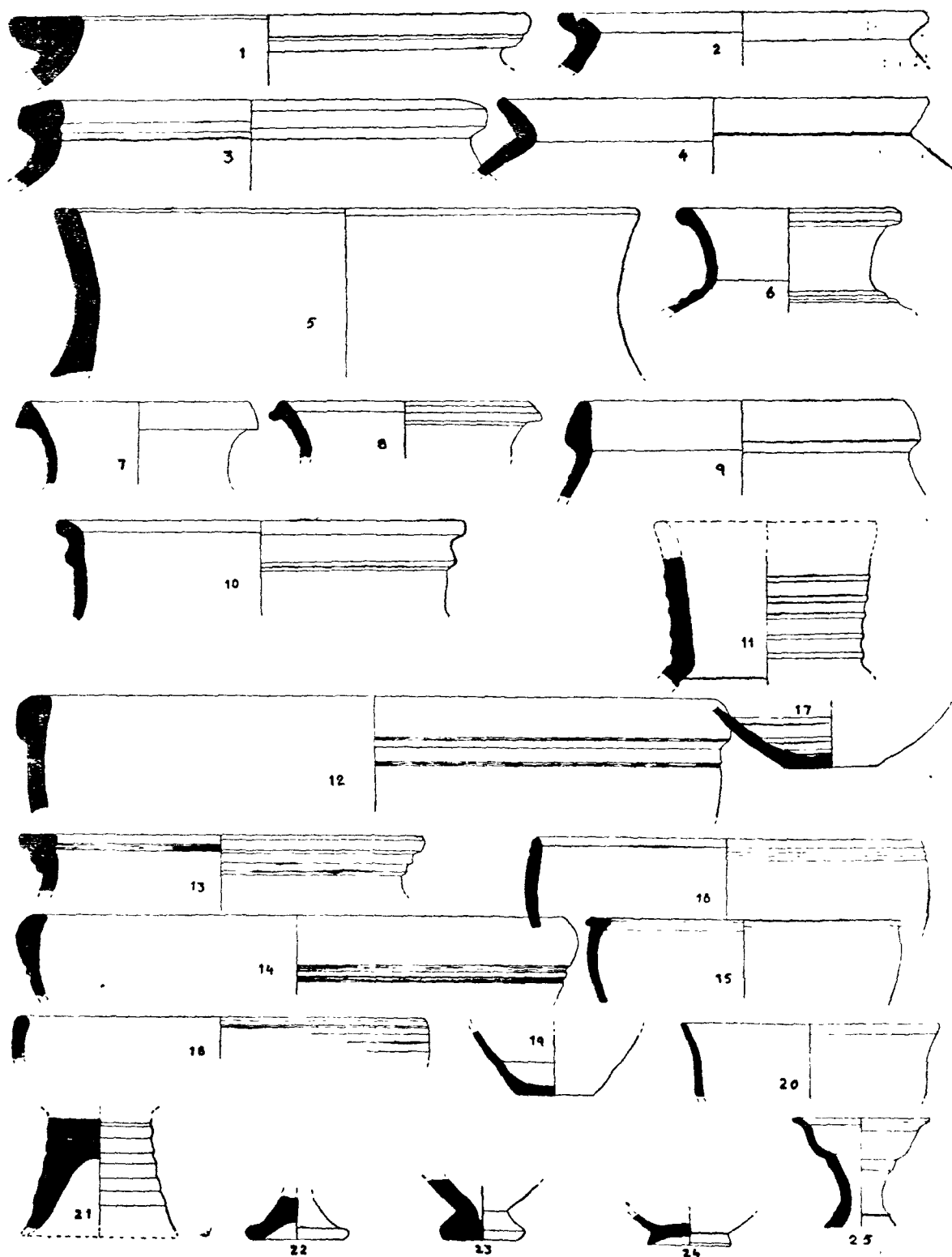


Fig. 19, RED WARE PERIOD I
Scale 1" = 1"

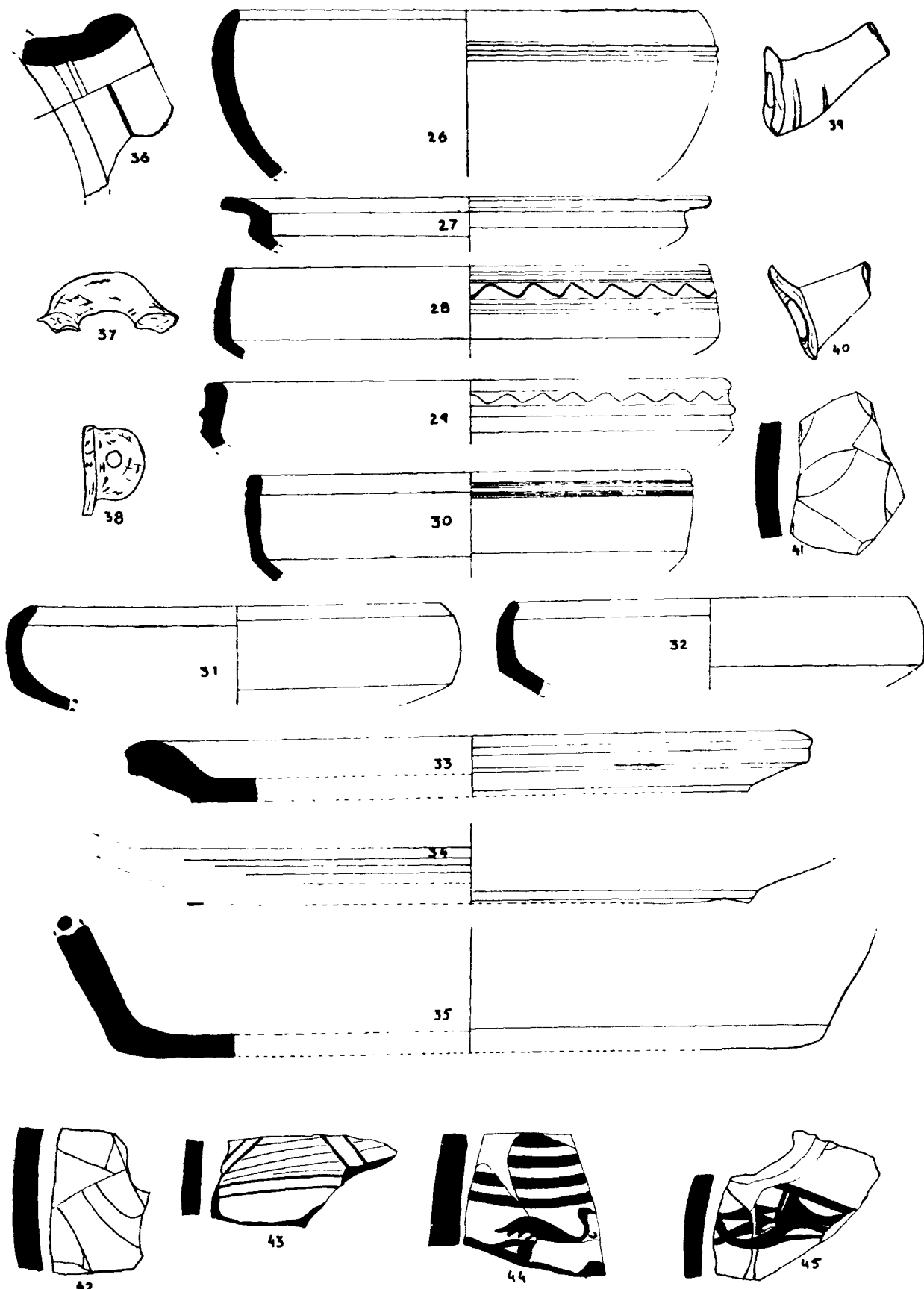


Fig 20. RED WARE PERIOD I
Scale 1" = 1" 0 1" 2"

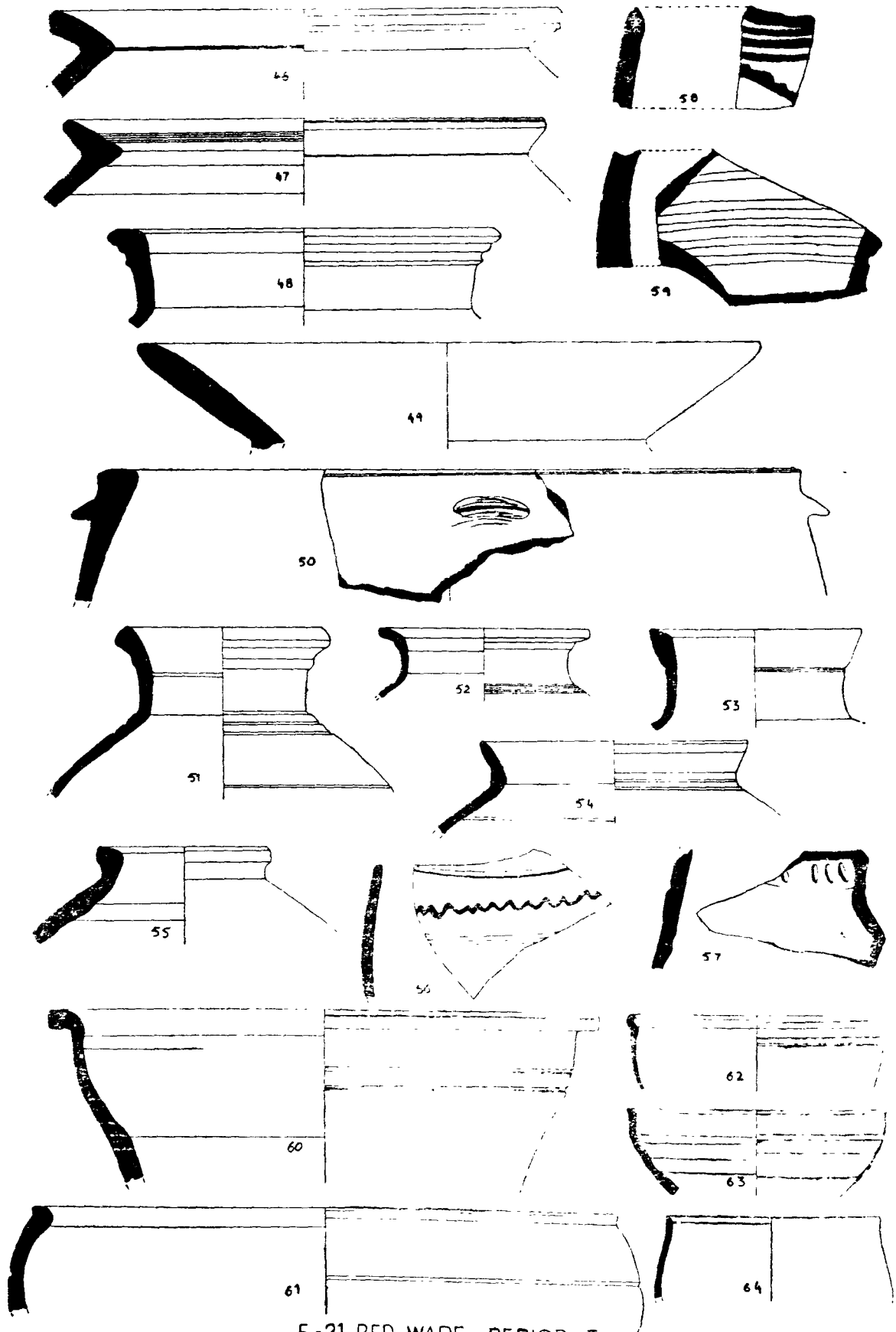


Fig 21, RED WARE PERIOD I
Scale - 1" = 1" 0" 1" 2"

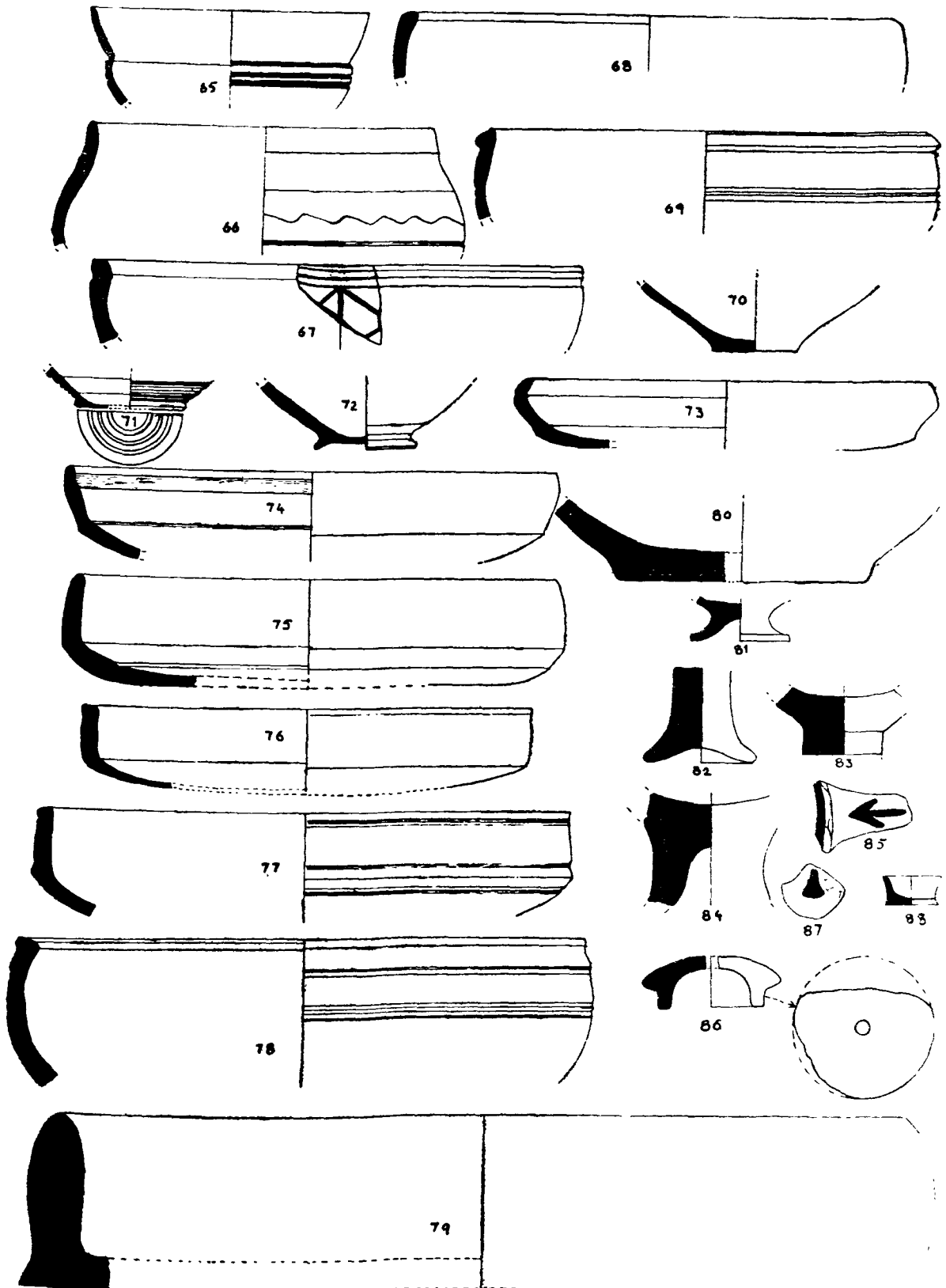


Fig.22, RED WARE PERIOD I

Scale - 1" = 1" 0 1" 2"

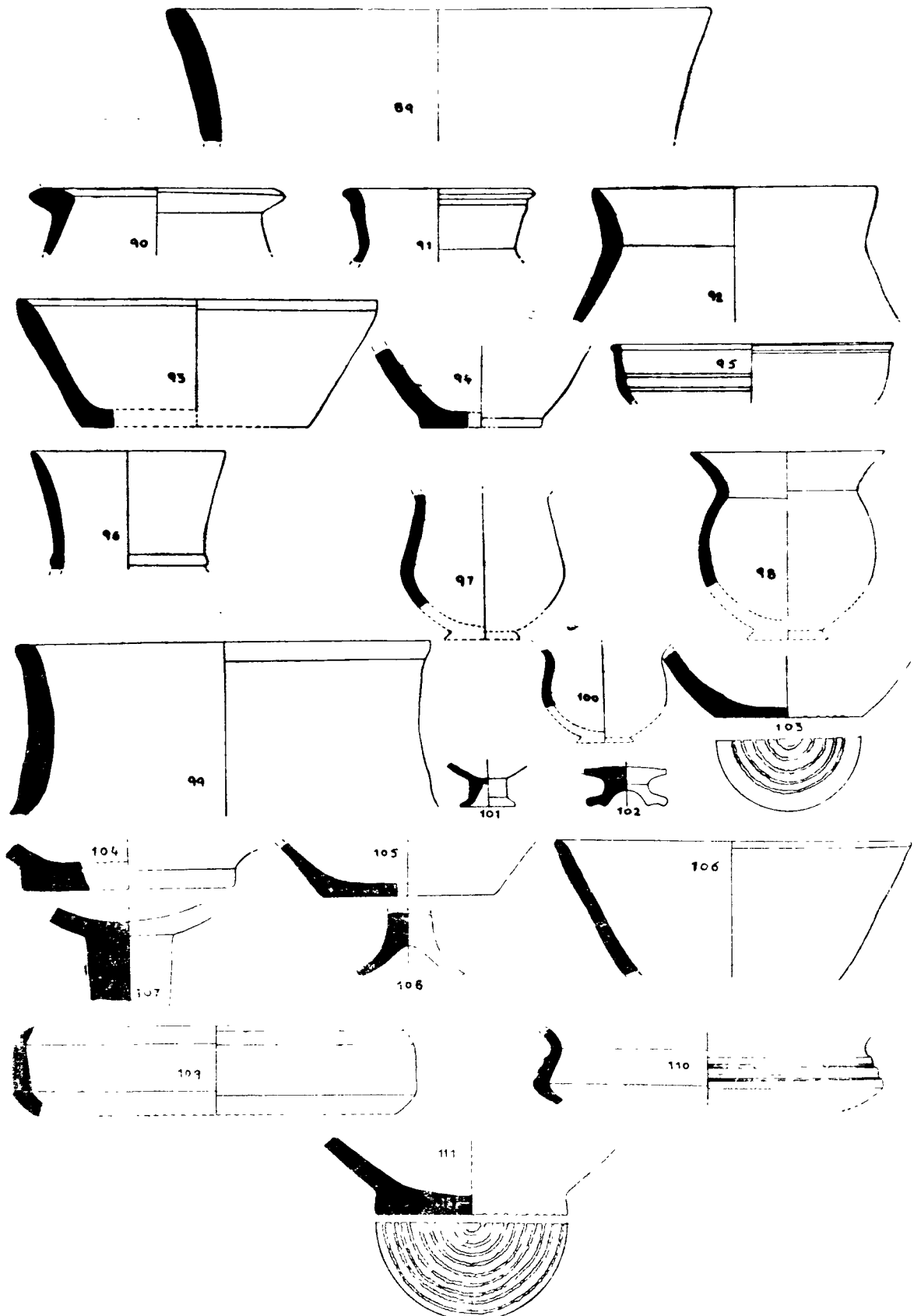
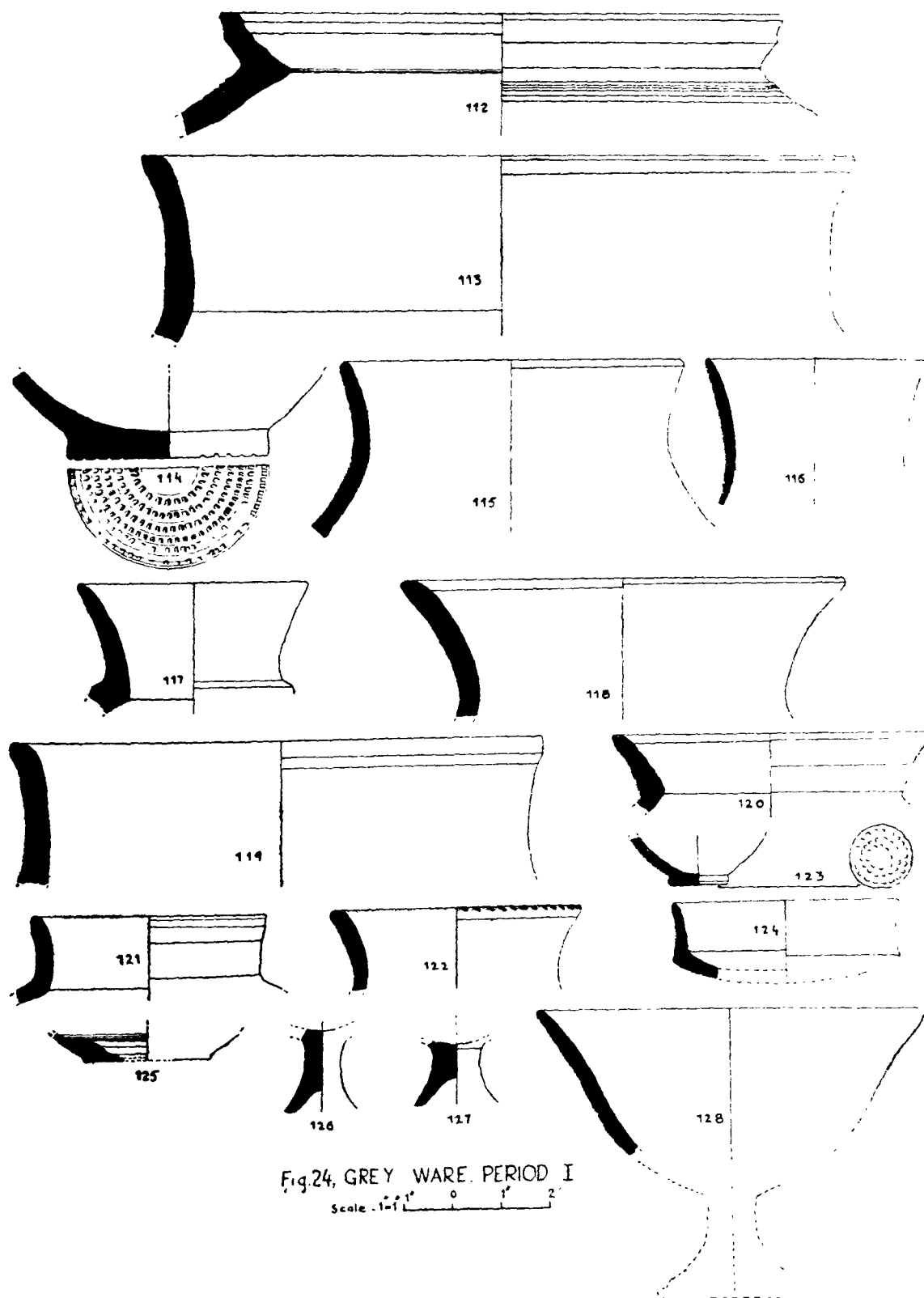


Fig 23, GREY WARE PERIOD I
Scale - 1" = 1' 0" 1" 2"



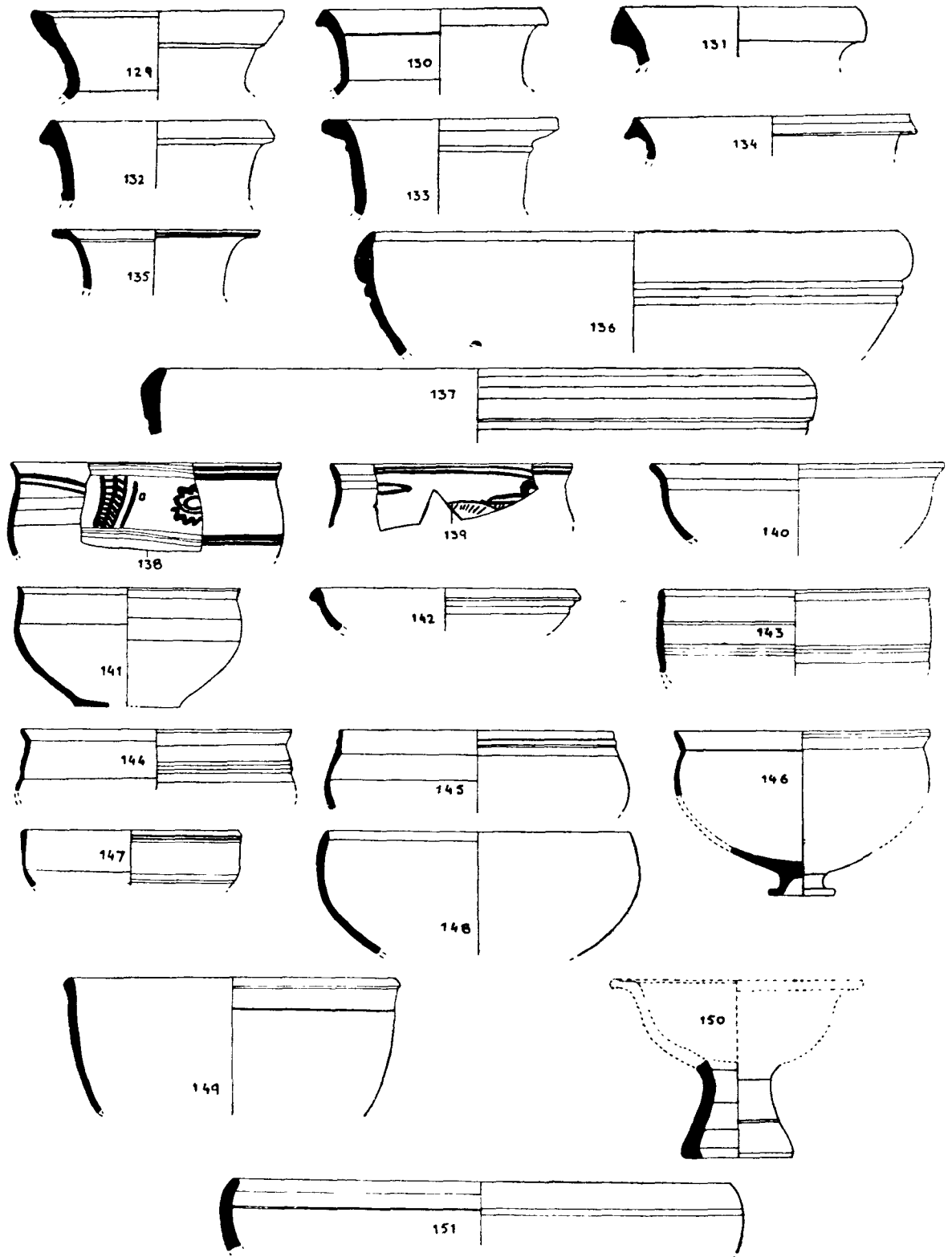


Fig 25, RED WARE PERIOD II

Scale 1"=1" 0 1" 2"

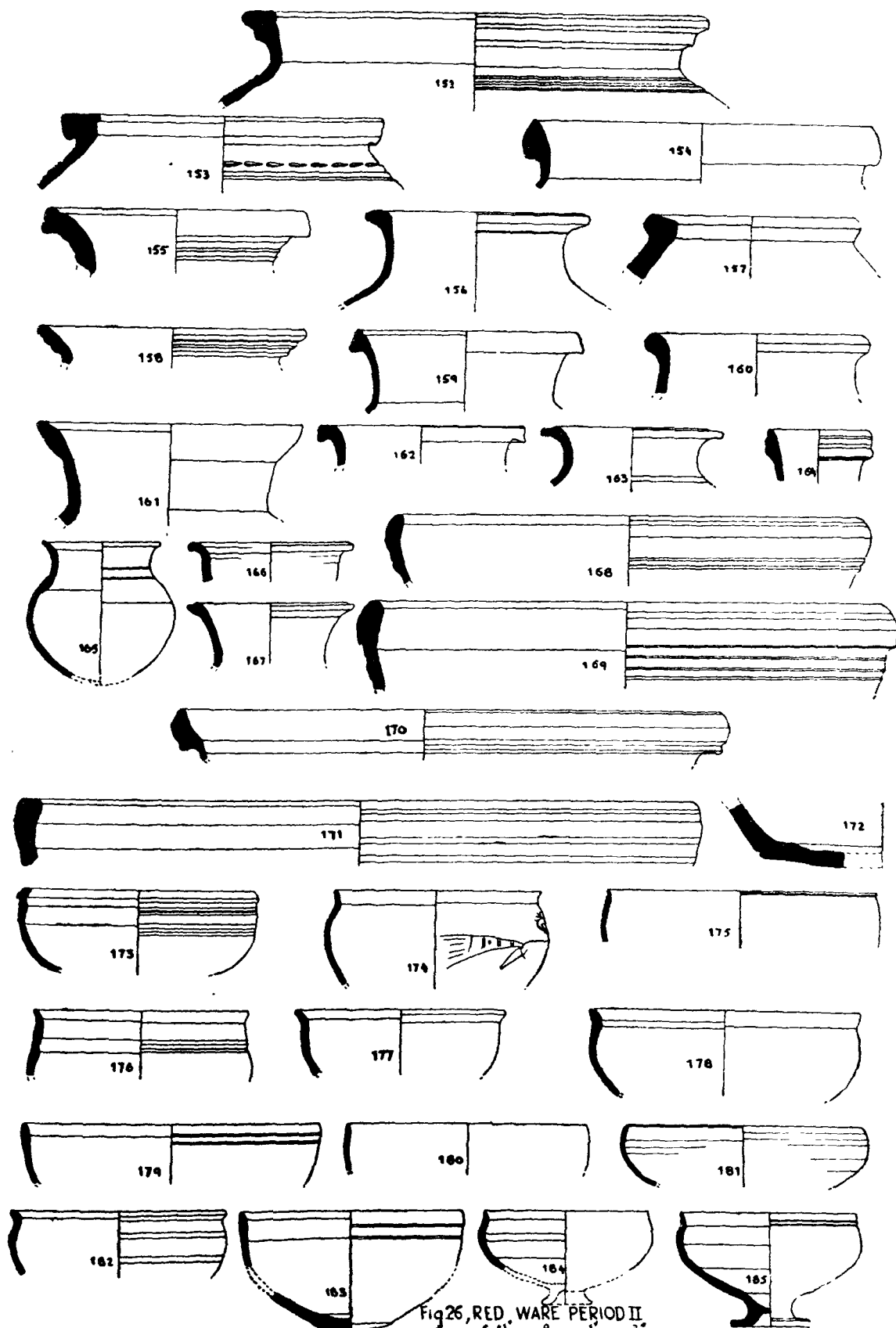


Fig 26, RED, WARE PERIOD II.

Scale: 1" = 10 cm.

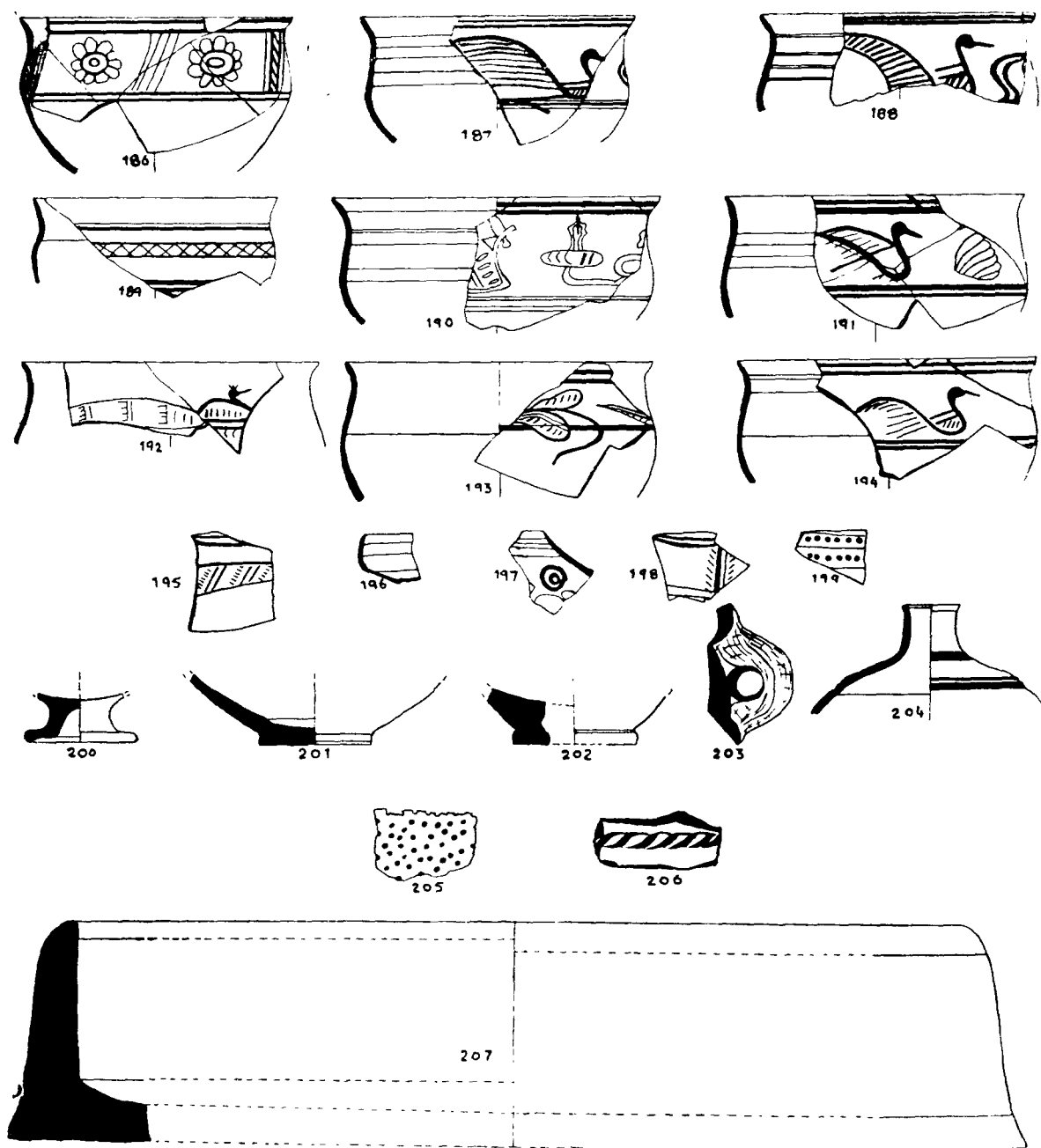
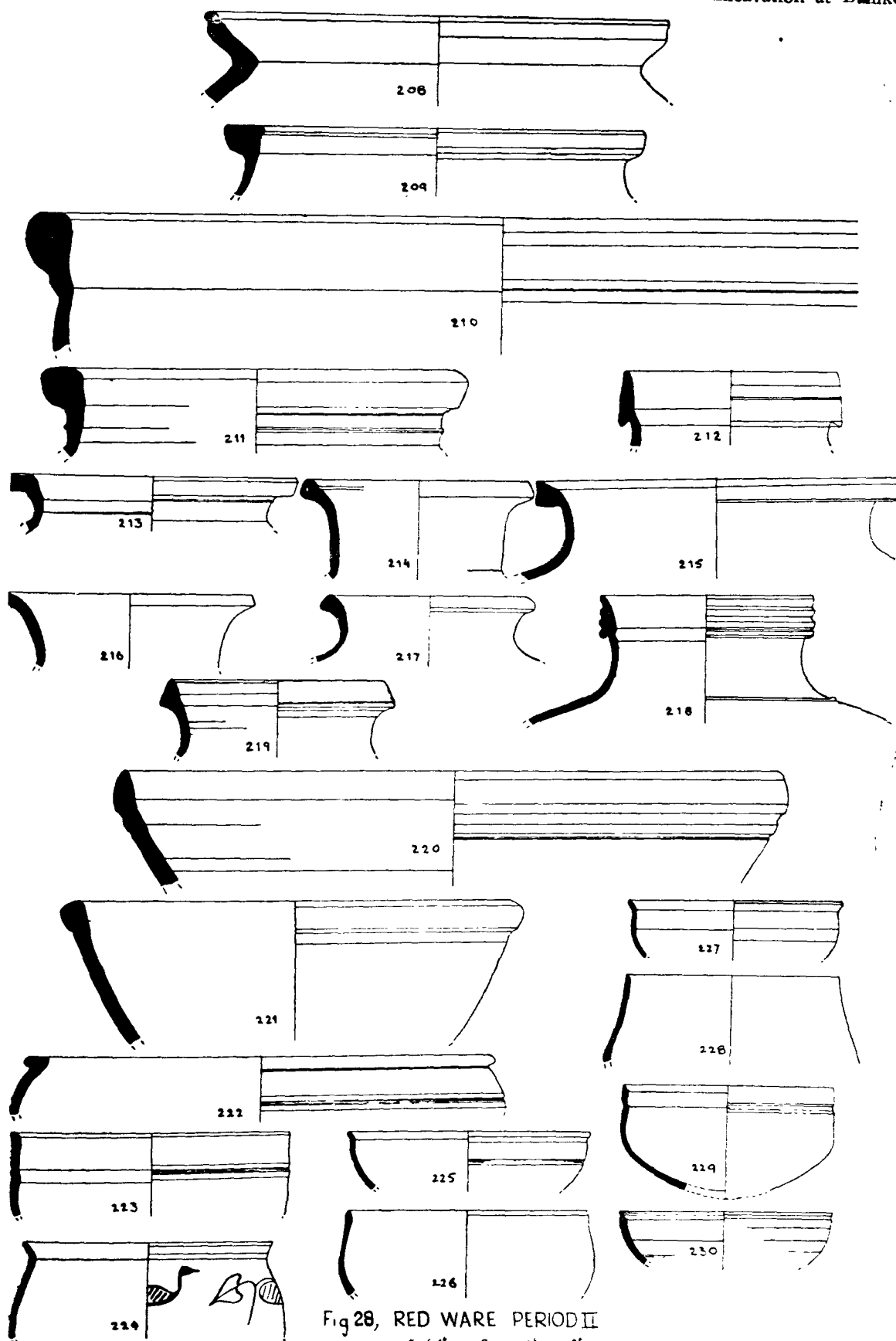


Fig 27. RED WARE PERIOD II

Scale - 1" = 1' 0 1" 2'



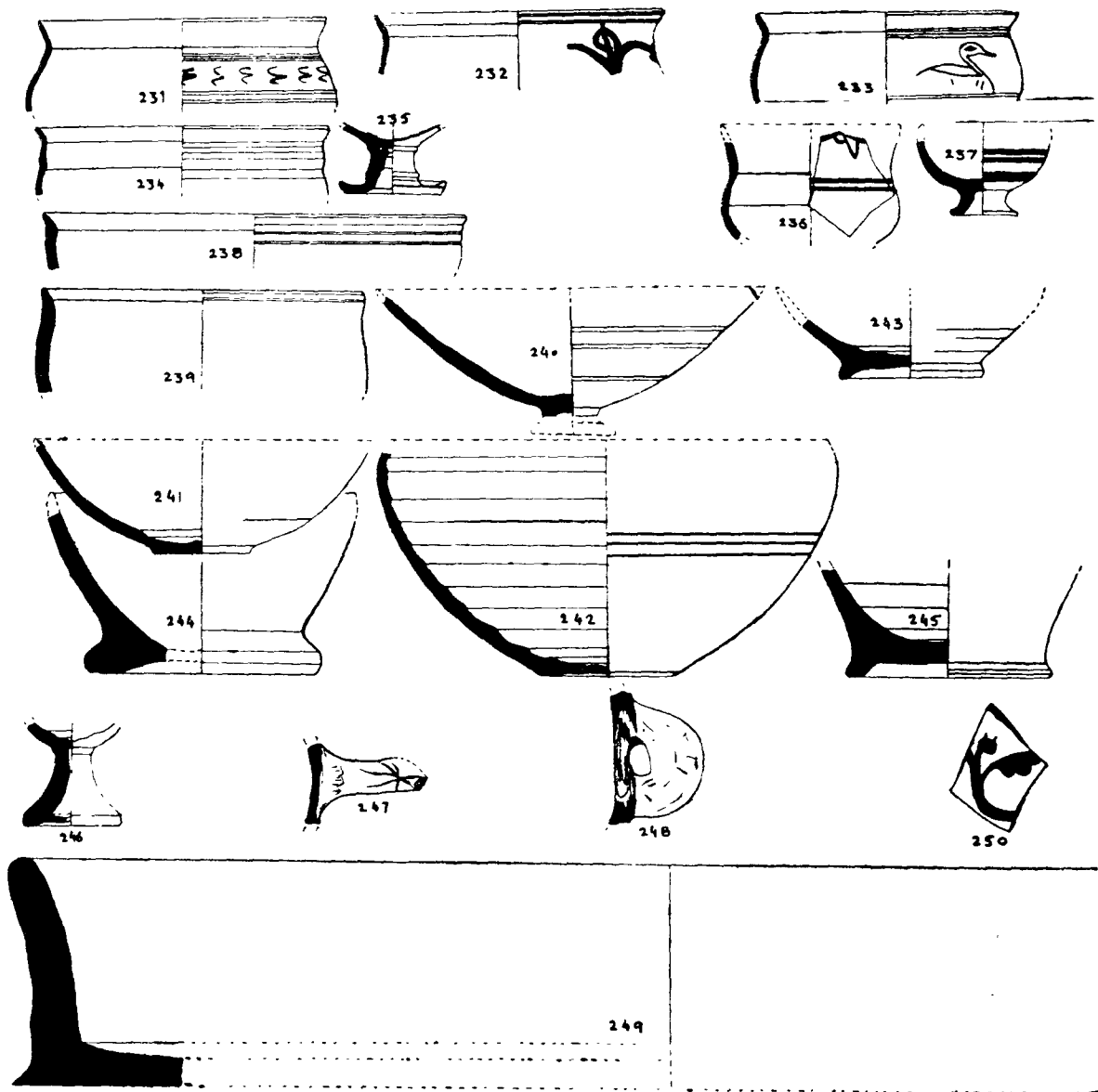
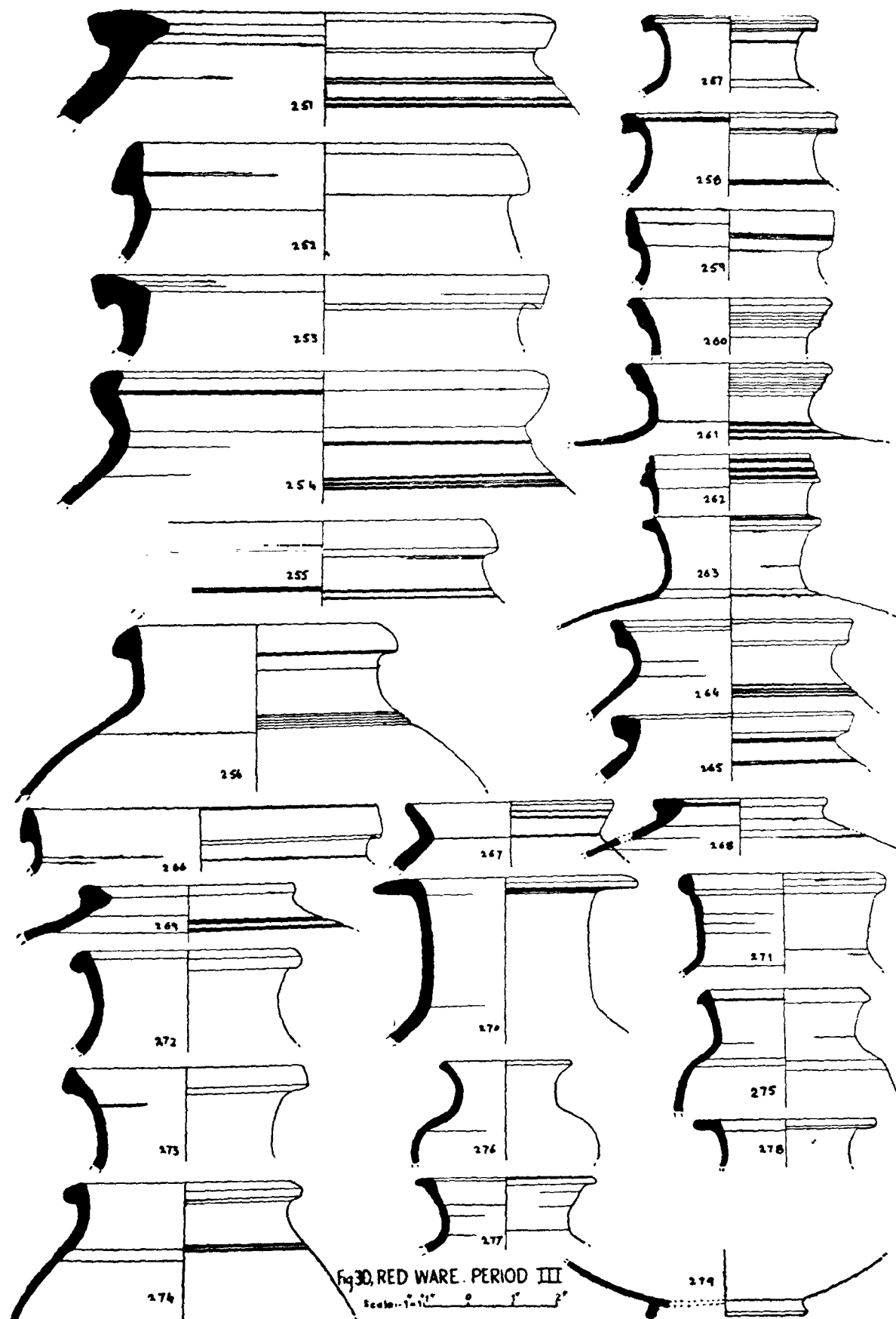


Fig 21, RED WARE - PERIOD II
Scale - 1" = 1'



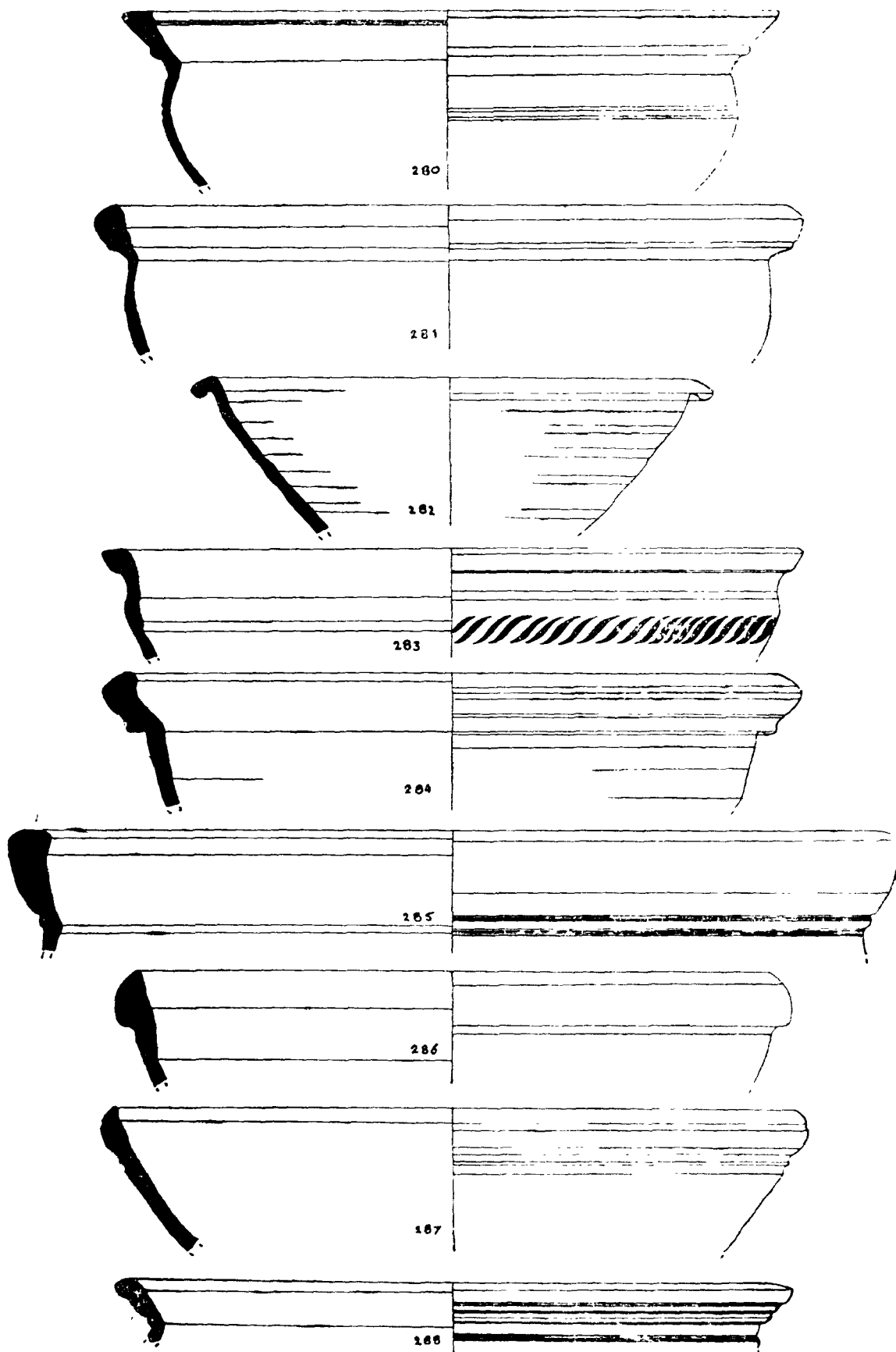


Fig 31, RED WARE PERIOD III
Scale - 1" = 1"

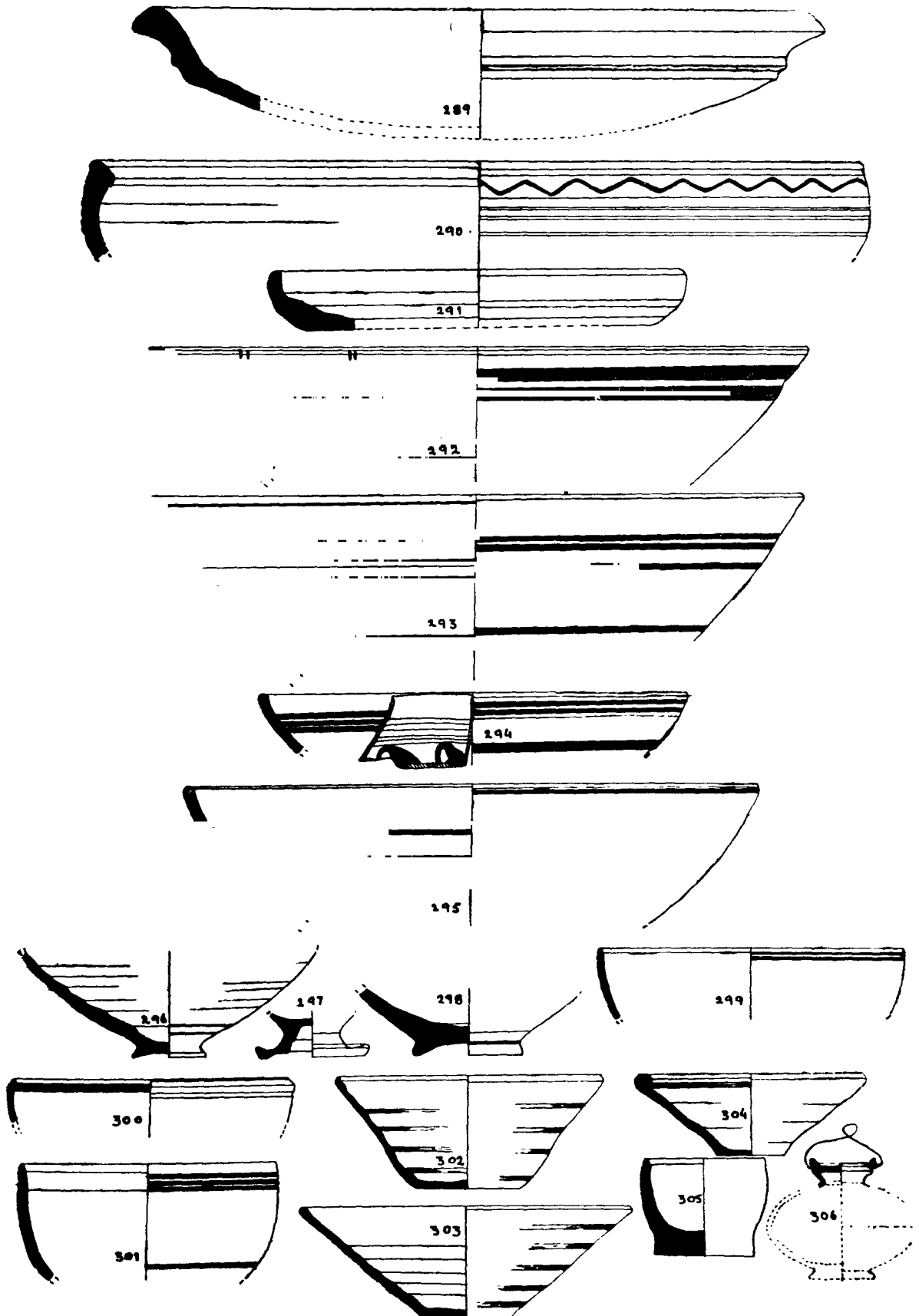


Fig 32, RED WARE PERIOD III

Scale 0 1" 2"

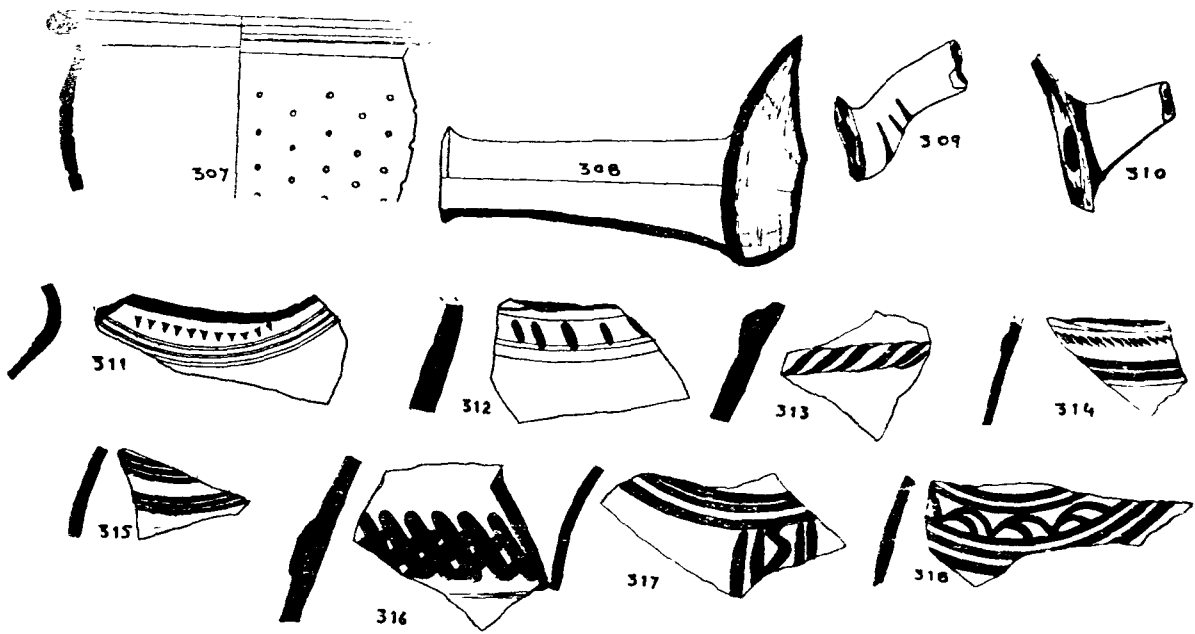
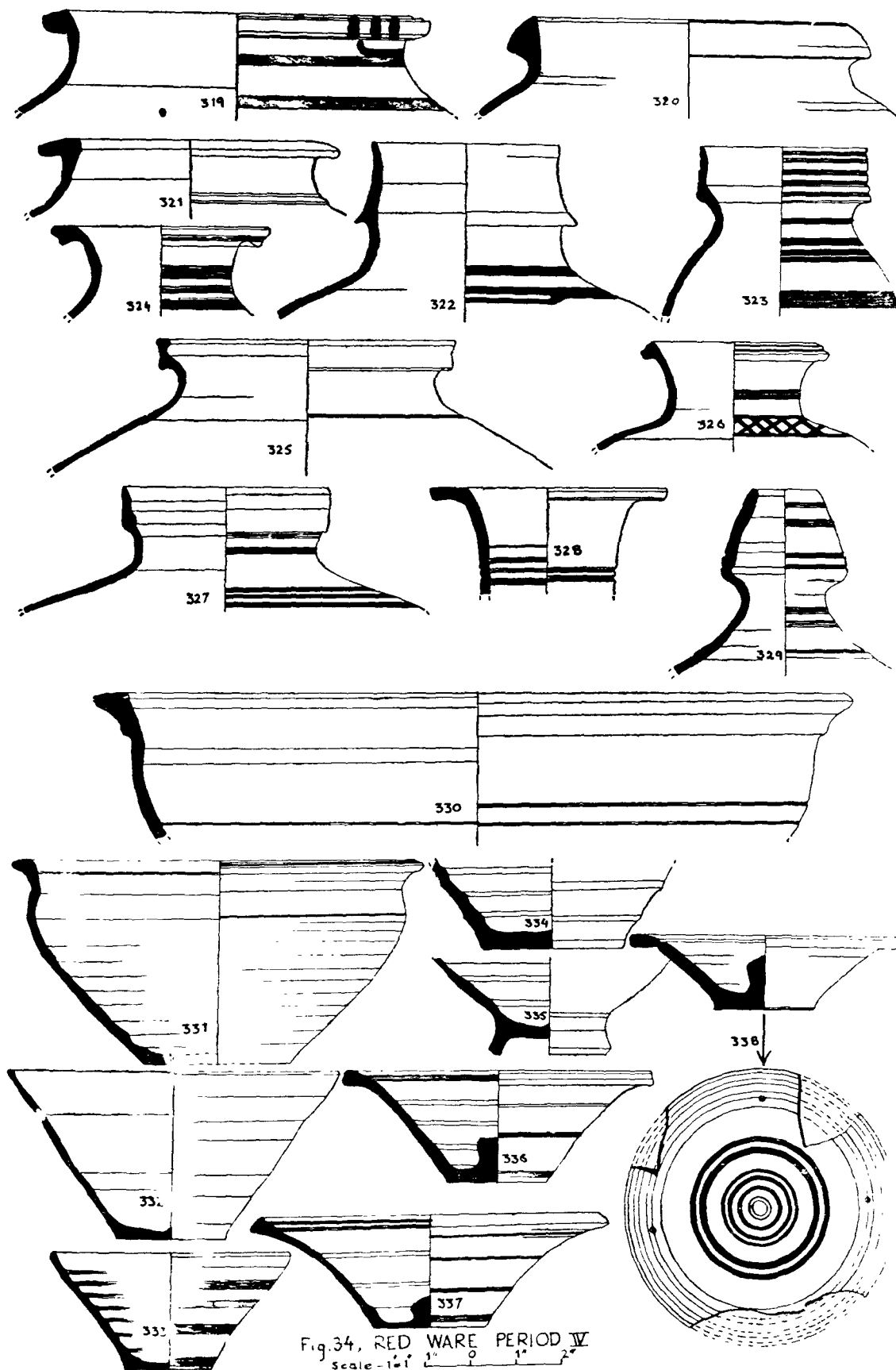


Fig.33, RED WARE PERIOD III
Scale - 1" 1" 0 1" 2"



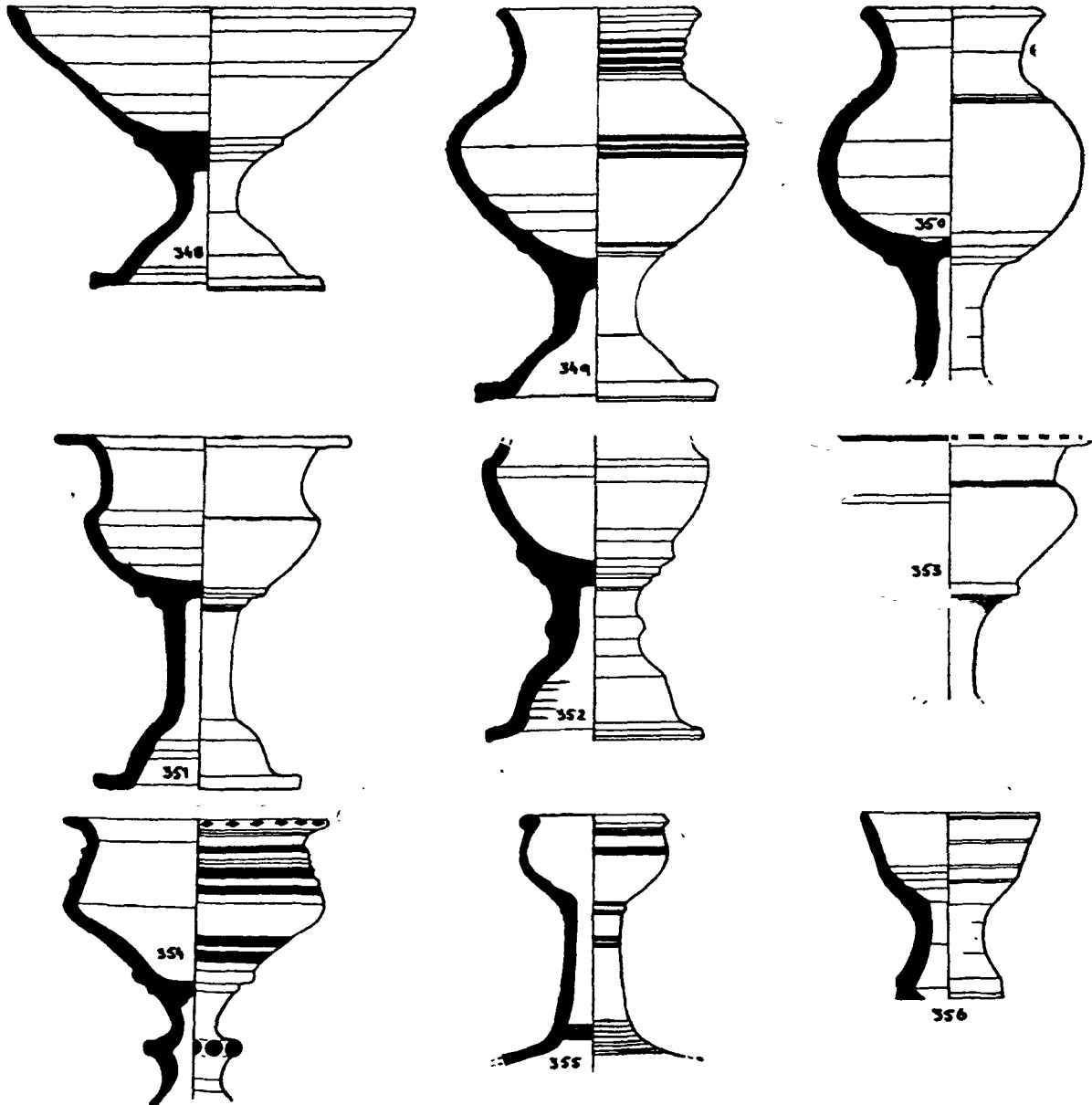
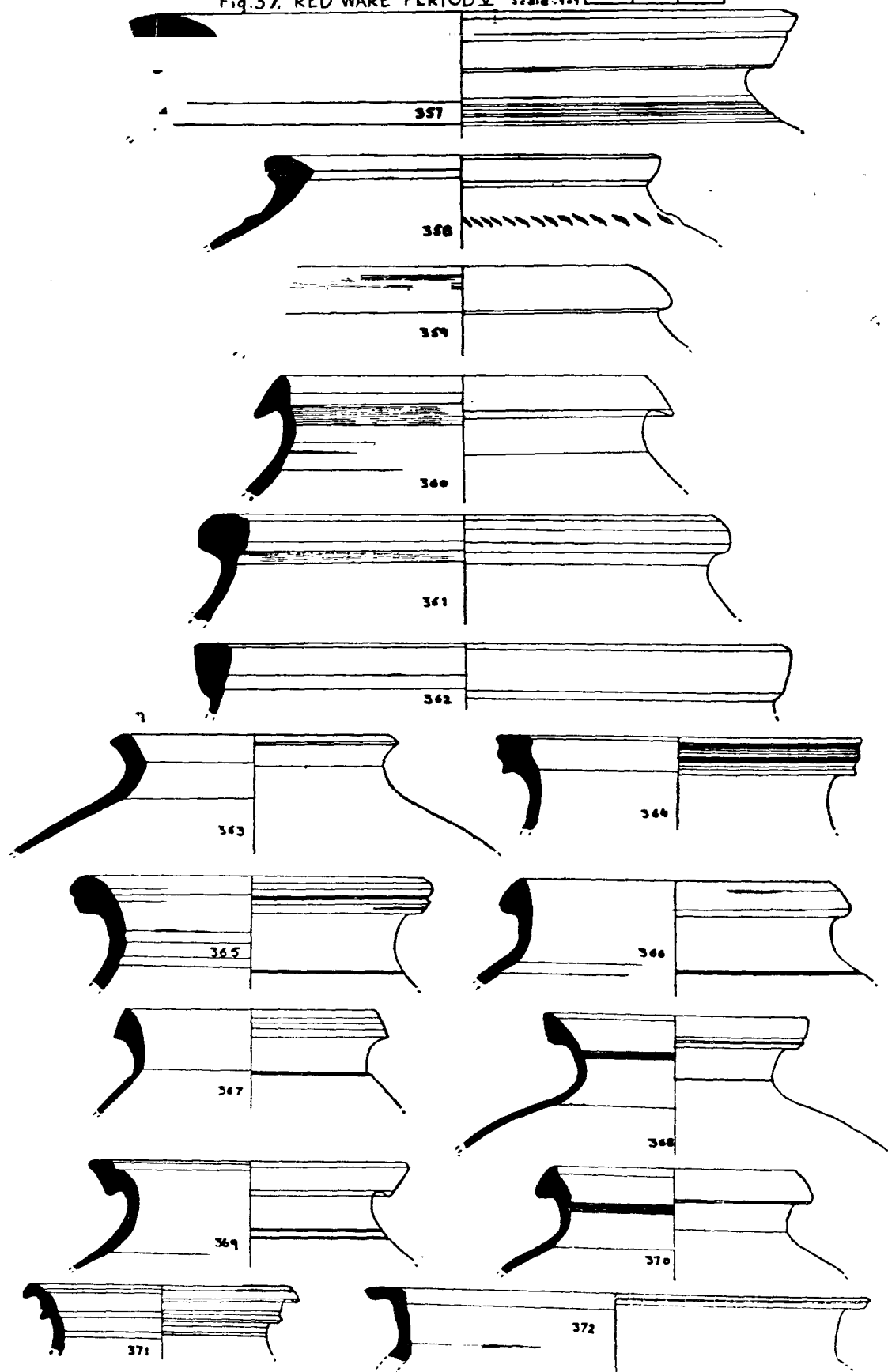


Fig.36, RED WARE: PERIOD IV

Scale - 1" = 1" 0 1" 2"

Fig. 37. RED WARE PERIOD V scale 1:10 0 1" 2"



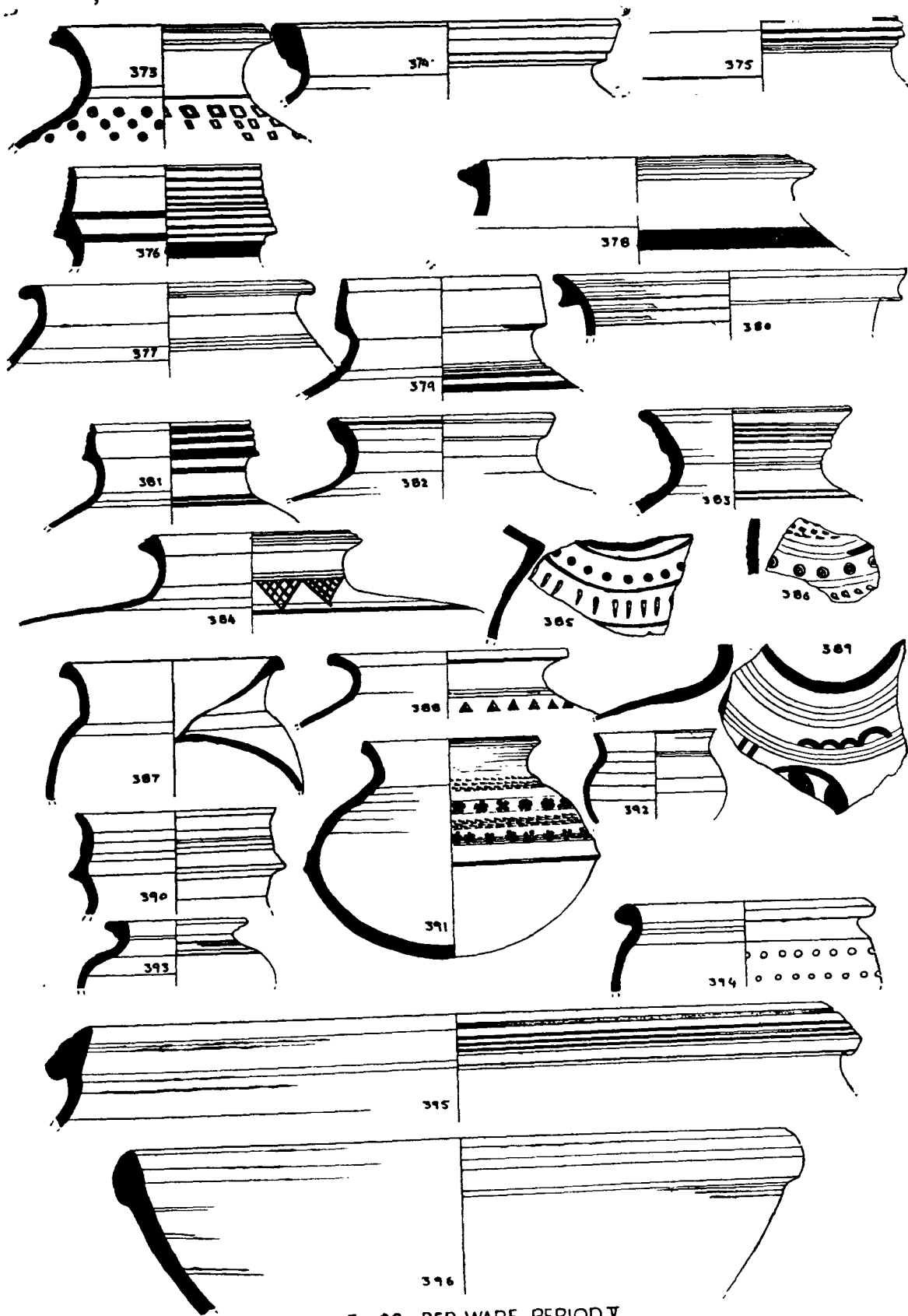


Fig. 38, RED WARE PERIOD V
Scale - 1 1/2" 1" 1" 1/2"

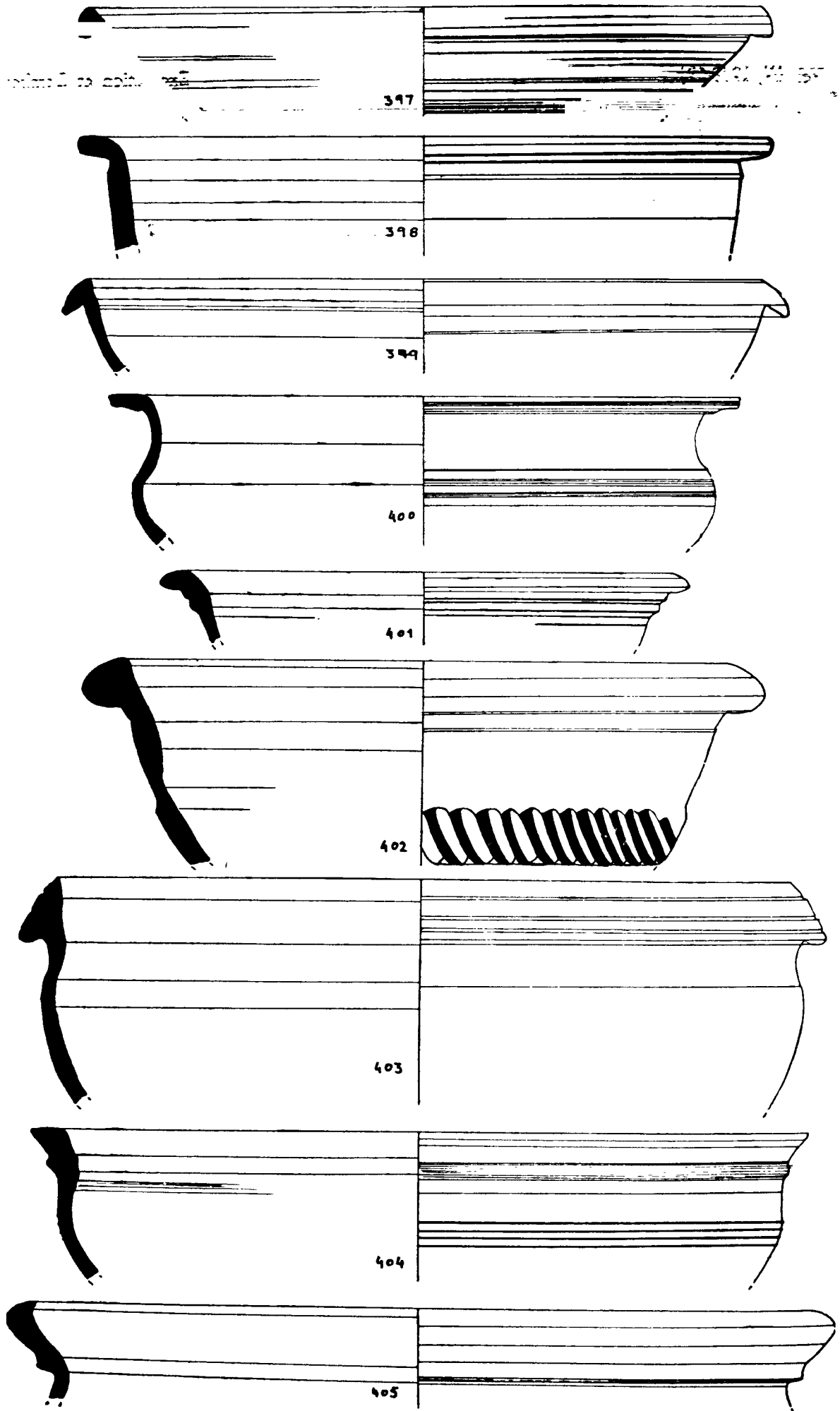


Fig. 39, RED WARE: PERIOD V

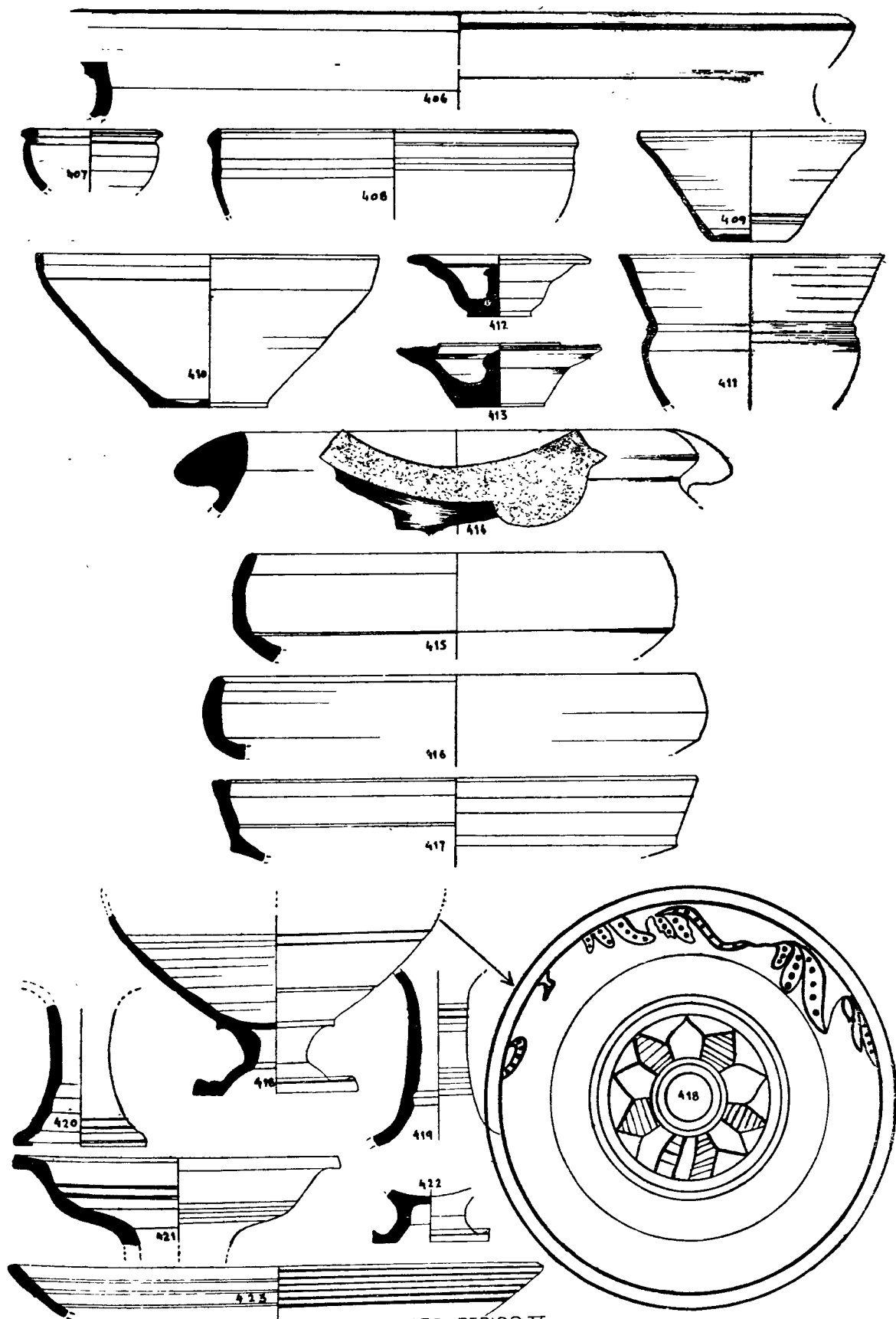


Fig 40, RED WARE PERIOD V
Scale 1 cm

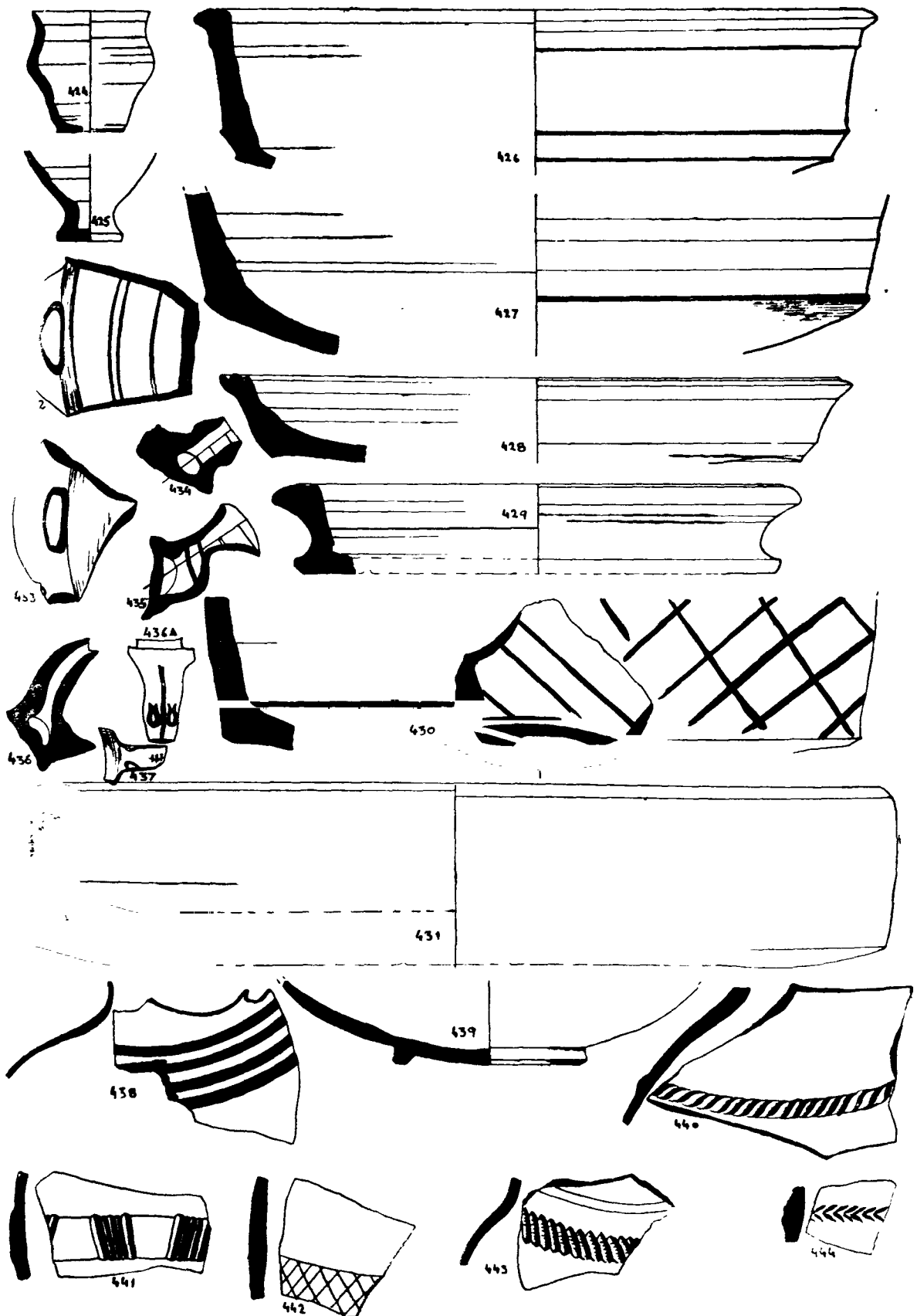


Fig 41, RED WARE PERIOD V
Scale 1" 1" 2"

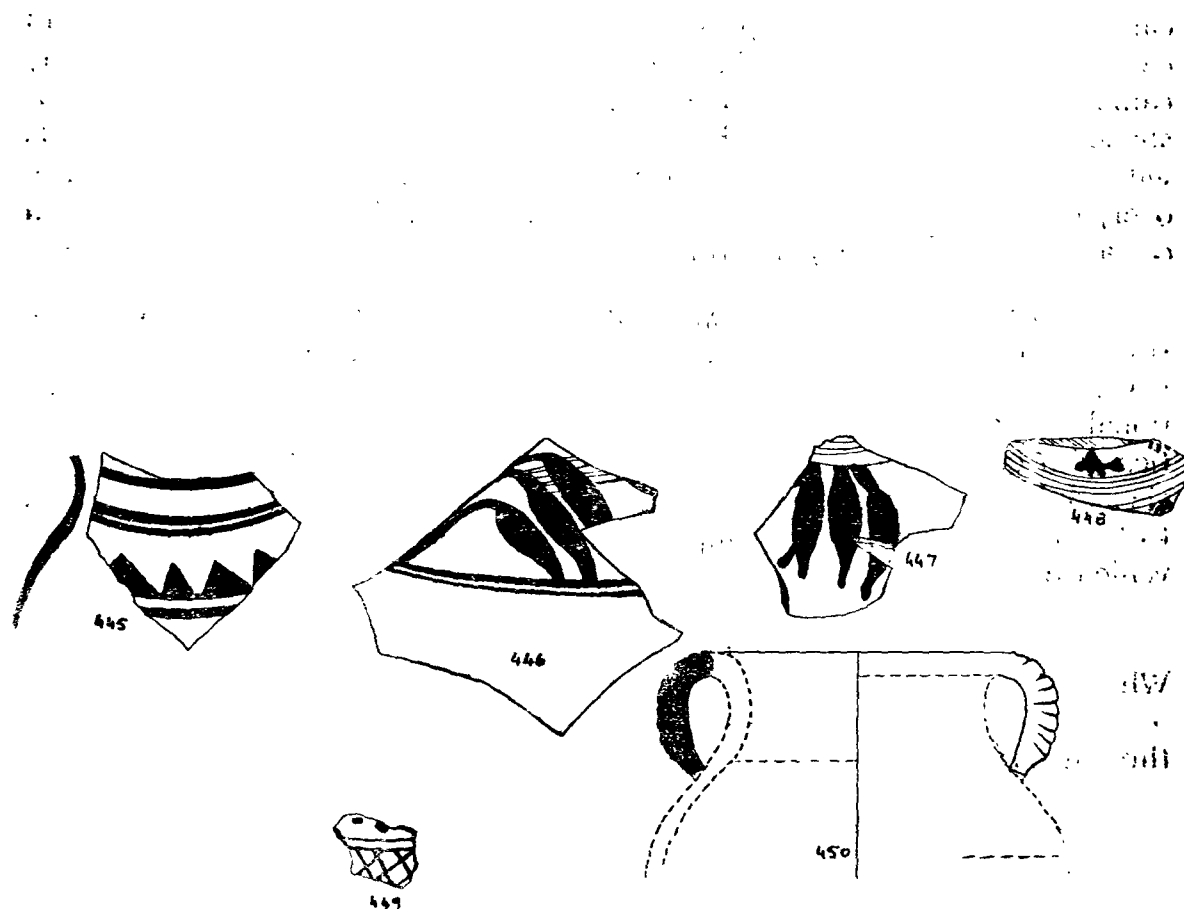


Fig. 42, RED WARE PERIOD V
Scale 1" = 1"

earliest sherds of which appear, long after the Grey Ware tradition had ceased to function, and end before the earliest Kushana coin (i.e. Wima) came to be buried upon this site. Similarly 'goblet-on-stand', in a variety of shapes, occur subsequent to the Kushana occupational strata. Potsherds with stamped decoration are restricted only to the Hindu Shahi levels. Moreover, the association of coinage, which can be fairly closely dated, with certain types of pottery has further enhanced their chronological value.

A representative selection from the whole lot of potsherds demonstrating certain coherent and regularly recurring features within specific periods is given below with a view to understanding their technological, functional and chronological values. The outstanding types with strong affinities with one period or the other are selected on the basis of form or fabric and discussed in greater detail in the pages that follow. Names are given to them arbitrarily for the simple reason of describing them with some convenience.

The pottery of periods I and II is illustrated stratigraphically. Whereas that of periods III, IV and V is given period-wise to avoid much of repetition which this method involves. It may be broadly grouped under three heads:—

- A. Red Ware
- B. Fine Red Ware.
- C. Grey Ware.

POTTERY OF PERIOD I

A — RED WARE

It is represented by an overwhelming majority of fragments almost two-thirds of the total potsherds recovered from the lower-most two strata. All the specimens are plain except a few showing incised lines or applied bands of clay. It is well-fired and ranges from medium to thick fabric with emphasis upon the latter. Thick-sectioned potsherds are indeed the characteristic of this period. There are only two sherds of reddish colour which appear to be hand-made; for the rest, the pottery is wheel turned and very often dressed with reddish slip. None of the pots appear to have been burnished. The most usual forms include storage vessel with pointed or rounded bottom and thick-set out-turned rim (Fig. 19/1-5); water-picher with flaring or externally thickened rim and almost globular body (Fig. 19/6-10); a funnel-shaped vessel with external grooves (Fig. 19/11); trough with beaded or straight rim (Fig. 20/34, 35); open-mouthed large bowl (*langri*) with incurved or externally grooved flat-topped rim (Fig. 19/12-14); dish

(*ihali*) with flat or sagger base and simple incurved, straight or projected rim and occasional carination at the side (Fig. 20/28-33); convex sided bowl with disc or ring base (Fig. 20/26); simple straight spouts (Fig. 20/39) and perforated or curved lugs (Fig. 20/37, 38).

Exact analogue of long necked pitcher and certain other dishes can be seen in Balambat III (see comparism and chronology). On the whole the entire assemblage is comparable to Timargarha III. Representative specimens are given below:

(All vessels are wheel-turned and slipped red unless otherwise stated).

Fig. 19
St. (12)

1. Storage vessel: Large size; thick set flat rim with an external groove.
2. Similar: Smaller size; with out-curved rim and globular body.
3. Akin to No. 2, above.
4. Storage vessel: Medium size; with hammer-shaped rim and globular body.
5. Storage vessel: Large size; with slightly out-curved featureless rim and a thick profile below the neck; ill-fired.
6. Pitcher: with slightly everted rim and plain neck having grooves below.
7. Pitcher: with plain neck and obliquely cut rim.
8. Pitcher: similar with an external grooves. It is coated with a thin layer of slip having greater mica contents.
9. Pitcher: with externally collared rim; incomplete oxidation.
10. Pitcher: with external notched rim and vertical neck. The slip is rather fugitive.
11. Pitcher: with long neck having deep external grooves and black core.
12. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally thickened and club-shaped rim; ill-fired.
13. Large bowl: with flat topped rim having grooves below.

14. Large bowl: with slightly incurved and externally collared rim, marked with double grooves.
15. Bowl: Club-rimmed with convex sides.
16. Bowl: Vertical rim with a pair of external grooves.
17. Bowl: flat base of an internally grooved bowl having string marks.
18. Bowl: with slightly incurved and featureless rim.
19. Bowl: similar to No. 17, above, but without internal grooves.
20. Bowl: with slightly flaring rim and thin sides. It produces tinkling sound when dropped on the floor; Reddish buff slip.
21. Hollow: pedestal base with external grooves. It has a gritty body, black core and fugitive slip.
22. Hollow: pedestal base of a small vase scraped on the bottom.
23. Disc-base of a thick-sided vase with string marks on the bottom.
24. Ring-base of a bowl; the bowl may be akin to No. 20, above.
25. Miniature pedestalled-vase with flaring rim and central perforation across the bottom. Ill-fired and without slip.

Fig. 20

26. Bowl: with convex sides and external grooves below the rim.
27. Bowl: with projected rim and carination at the shoulder; ill-fired and slipped internally.
28. Dish: with incurved sides having a grooved wavy line. It has sagger base with an external cordon and a wavy line.
29. Dish: club-rimmed with an external cordon and wavy line.
30. Dish: with almost straight sides; having grooves below the rim.
31. Dish: with incurved sides and sagger base; pinkish red slip.
32. Dish: with incurved sides, blunt carination and sagger base. Colour similar to No. 31, above.

33. Dish: thick sided and shallow. It has a deep groove below the rounded top.
34. Trough: thick-sided and shallow with internal grooves and granulated bottom.
35. Trough: thick-sided, with gritty section and incomplete oxidation.
36. Top of a narrow-mouthed vase with collared rim. It was probably made on a slow wheel. No slip.
37. Hand-made semi-circular handle. It was made separately and then luted to the vessel. No slip.
38. Perforated lug finely made and slipped.
39. Spout: plain, with elliptical out-let.
40. Similar, with circular out-let.
41. Fragment of dull red ware of medium fabric with incised decoration showing petals of a flower. It has fugitive slip.
42. Fragment of dull red ware of medium fabric with incised decoration showing superimposed loops and a triangle.
43. Similar, with incised decoration showing hatched, triangle.

(‘Fine Red Ware’ is interpolated)

B. — Fine Red Ware

It is represented by four sherds coming from the lower-most stratum (i.e. 12) and does not appear in any other stratigraphical horizon. In the whole assemblage of pottery these sherds appear to be most distinctive in view of their fabric and surface treatment. They are thick in section and exhibit black core resulting probably from rapid firing without giving sufficient time for complete oxidation to take place. The clay of these specimens is well levigated with a fair admixture of sand and other finer refractories. There is no trace of straw or any other organic substance being mixed with it as an additional binding. The dull red original surface is coated with a thick layer of rich red slip and appears to have been carefully rubbed probably with a piece of cloth so as to create a uniform surface characterized by its smoothness and slippery touch. The precise mineralogical contents of the slip, restricted only to the outer face and applied before firing, have not been studied except that a high percentage

of mica is visible on the surface.

Owing to the small size of these sherds, the exact shape of the vessels cannot be worked out, though their slightly curved inner surface together with thick fabric is suggestive of a tall storage pot. Let it be interpolated here that storage vessels with equally thick-set rim are abundant at this level, but without the peculiar surface treatment typical of the 'Fine Red Ware'.

The motifs executed in black, before firing, consist of parallel horizontal bands, a curious floral design and a peacock looking behind. Painting is done in a free, assuring style.

The distinctiveness of these sherds becomes all the more striking as we find no other parallels in the neighbouring sites. The technique of surface dressing as demonstrated by the known pottery from Timargarha, Balambat and Ghaligai does not exhibit the excellent skill of the potter as noted here. They appear to be, in fact, alien sherds strikingly different from the local ceramic industry.

44. Fragment of 'fine red ware' showing black core and thick fabric. Painted designs executed in black, upon rich red surface, consist of multiple horizontal bands and a peacock in the lower zone.
45. Fragment of 'fine red ware' fabric and slip similar to No. 44, above. Painted designs done in black, consist of a stylised plant and a curious wedge-shaped motif in the side panel.

Fig. 21

Stratum II

(Red Ware is resumed)

46. Storage vessel: with a thick-set out-turned rim having a horizontal band of rich red slip on the inner surface.
47. Storage vessel: with out-turned rim having horizontal groove on the inside. Poor slip.
48. Storage vessel: flat topped rim with external grooves and high neck. Black core.
49. Storage vessel: splayed rim coated with orange red slip on both faces. It is burnished and has black core.

50. **Basin:** With a flat topped rim and a luted lug.
51. **Pitcher:** with straight neck and externally flanged rim; no slip. It has grooves on the shoulder. Ill-fired.
52. **Pitcher:** small size; with flaring simple rim and grooves on the shoulder; no slip. Ill-fired.
53. **Pitcher:** with externally thickened rim. Poor slip.
54. **Pitcher:** with out-curved simple rim and grooved neck.
55. **Pitcher:** with short squarish rim and globular body; black core and poor slip.
56. Fragment of dull red ware with grooved wavy pattern in the middle of a zone marked by incised double horizontal lines.
57. **Fragment of dull red ware with black painted horizontal bands and a stepped motif.**
58. Fragment of dull red ware with vertically notched pattern.
59. Fragment of 'Fine Red Ware' with black painted horizontal bands. It is similar to Nos. 44 and 45, above.
60. Large bowl (langri): with squarish out-curved rim and coarse fabric. Oxidation is not complete.
61. **bowl:** with bevelled rim and almost convex sides; fine red slip.
62. **Bowl:** with incurved rim and convex sides; thin fabric.
63. **Bowl:** with bevelled rim and internal grooves, and bloched outer surface — due to ill-firing. No slip.
64. **Bowl:** with slightly bevelled rim and almost straight sides.

Fig. 22

65. **Bowl:** with dull red colour and slight carination and grooves almost half way down the sides. Well-fired.
66. **Bowl:** with slightly out-curved rim and a wavy line on the shoulder; deep red slip.
67. **Bowl:** with slightly bevelled rim and an incised diamond pattern on the outer surface.

68. Bowl: with slightly incurved rim and convex sides.
69. Bowl: with externally flanged rim and double grooves, almost half way down the side.
70. Flat bottomed bowl — fragment with string marks on the bottom, black core and poor slip.
71. Disc base of an externally grooved small bowl. Ill-fired.
72. Ring base of a bowl.
73. Dish: with incurved plain sides.
74. Dish: with tapering sides and sagger base; fine slip.
75. Dish: with vertical sides and flat base.
76. Dish: with almost flat topped featureless rim and sagger base.
77. Dish: bluntly carinated with flat topped rim having a groove below.
78. Bowl: with bevelled rim and external grooves.
79. Cooking tray: with coarse fabric and reddish brown colour. It has thick vertical sides and flat bottom. The clay is gritty showing an admixture of straw or husk.
80. Disc-base of a large storage vessel with 'black-core' and coarse fabric.
81. Hollow-pedestal-base of a bowl of medium size.
82. Fragment of a bowl-on-stand with solid stem and hollow base.
83. Similar, with solid stem but coarse fabric.
84. Similar, with hollow-pedestal-base and coarse fabric It is coated with a thick layer of pinkish red slip.
85. Handle of a vase with incised arrow-head design.
86. Lid: with convex upper-side and a perforation in the centre.
87. Miniature lid a of small pot with raised catch in the middle, hand-made; no slip.

C — Grey Ware

It is represented by a larger number of sherds — almost one-third of

the total pottery found in the two layers antedating the 'break'. There is no evidence to show that it continued in the subsequent periods with the same stress and numerical popularity, the same workmanship and decorative motifs which characterize it in the present context. A major portion of the grey sherds is distinguished from the contemporaneous red pottery by its coarse fabric, rough surface treatment and thick section. A significant feature of a sizeable number of vases is mat-impression in the form of a spiral on the bottom. Almost all the pots are wheel-thrown. The use of slow wheel or turn table was not infrequent as noted below.

The selection of clay was determined by the size and shape of vessels. In general the clay is gritty with a high proportion of quartzitic sand. The smaller vases were, however, made of well-levigated clay of small particle size with scant, if any, admixture of quartzite fragments. The firing is not always uniform and quite a few fragments exhibit mottled surfaces. On the whole a wide range of firing from ill-burnt to well burnt pots is observed. Very often the surface is treated with a slip, the colour of which varies from the grey brown to grey and black. It must be pointed out here that the use of grey brown and black colour in the present context is very occasional. The slip was applied before firing. On the basis of surface treatment we can point out certain varieties — (i) unburnished with roughened outer surface (these are usually made on slow wheel or turn table), (ii) burnished and made on fast wheel. It is worth pointing out that variety (i) can be mistaken for hand-made pottery, but we have a large number of sherds demonstrating unmistakably the use of a slow wheel. It appears that the surfaces were rusticated with hand when the body clay was still leather hard. This treatment is restricted to the outer face only, without exception and, sub-divided into those: (a) finely burnished on both faces or, at least, both faces of the rim area (grey brown and black colours fall within this sub-variety), (b) burnished on the outer faces only. Generally the burnishing lines are horizontal, though vertical strokes can also be seen in a few sherds.

Another distinctive feature of the Grey Ware is that the whole lot is unpainted and completely devoid of any decoration except some external grooves as exhibited by a negligible number of pot-sherds. The range of forms include storage vessels (Fig. 24/112, 113); with thick-set out-turned or vertical featureless rim; water pitcher with slightly flaring rim rippled or notched on the top and roughened outer surface, or with simple out-turned rim (this form is restricted to smaller size) Fig. 24/115-122); bowl with tapering sides (Fig. 23/93), pedestalled vases or those having mat-impression on the bottom (Fig. 23/100, 102, and Fig. 24/123) carinated-bowl (Fig. 23/110); dish with incurved sides (Fig. 23/109); and bowl-on-stand

(Fig. 24/126-128). A substantial range of sub-varieties having exact analogues in plain red ware also is noteworthy. The general impression is that of sturdiness rather than refinement or sophistication.

The unornamented grey ware is not entirely new to knowledge in Dir and Swat. It has been reported in abundant numbers from Ghaligai rock-shelter, Balambat (from refuse pits) and not less frequently it occurs in the various cemeteries so far excavated in Dir and Swat. In view of its technique of manufacture and the peculiar mat-impression our material appears to be strikingly similar to certain phases of Balambat and Ghaligai rock-shelter (layers 17, 16 and 15¹). Representative Series are given below:

Fig. 23 St. (12)

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|--|
| 89. | Basin | with coarse fabric and featureless tapering side; roughened surface and unburnished. It is a very common type. |
| 90. | Pitcher | with out-turned rim and thin profile; burnished on the inside. |
| 91. | Pitcher | with slightly everted rim and straight neck. Unburnished. |
| 92. | Pitcher | with slightly flaring rim and coarse fabric; roughened on the outside. |
| 93. | Bowl | open-mouthed; with tapering sides; coated with a light grey slip and finely burnished. |
| 94. | Base of a bowl | showing dark grey slip and fine burnishing on the outside. |
| 95. | Bowl | thin fabric; with mottled surface due to ill-firing; unburnished. |
| 96. | Top of a vase | with sharp rim and a raised band above the shoulder. Coated with light grey slip. It is finely burnished. |
| 97. | Fragment of a vase | coated with black slip; finely burnished. |
| 98. | Vase or bottle | with coarse fabric and burnished on the rim area. |

1. For details see 'Comparison and Chronology'.

99. Storage vessel: with slightly curved rim; coated with brownish slip; finely burnished. Very few examples.
100. Vase with light grey slip and burnished on the outside.
101. Hollow-pedestal-base of a small base having grey slip; unburnished.
102. Hollow-pedestal-base of vase having light grey slip; unburnished.
103. Fragment of a bowl having mat-impression on the bottom of the base; made on slow wheel; dark grey slip and unburnished.
104. Disc-base of a storage vessel having coarse fabric. Coated with a thick layer of light grey slip; unburnished.
105. Flat-base of a bowl coated with grey slip and burnished.
106. Rim-fragment of a bowl-on-stand; dark grey slip on both faces and finely burnished.
107. Bowl-on-stand with solid stem; coated with black slip and finely burnished.
108. Hollow-base of a bowl-on-stand; scraped on the stem; light grey slip. Unburnished.
109. Dish: with incurved sides and flat bottom; grey slip. Unburnished.
110. Carinated bowl with grooves on the shoulder; grey slip. It is burnished on the inside of the rim.
111. Disc-base of storage vessel with mat-impression in the form of a spiral. Coarse fabric.

Fig. 24 Grey Ware (continues) St. (11)

112. Storage vessel: with out-turned under-cut rim and grooved shoulder; thick profile. Unburnished. It is a rare type in grey ware.
113. Storage vessel: with slightly flaring featureless rim; coated with grey slip and burnished on both sides of the rim. It is a common variety.
114. Disc-base of storage vessel with mat-impression in the form of a spiral; coarse fabric.

115. Pitcher: with flaring rim and roughened outer surface; unburnished. It is a common variety.
116. Pitcher: with vertical rim and mottled surface. Coated with light grey slip and finely burnished. Rare variety.
117. Pitcher: with splayed rim and thick profile at the shoulder. Coated with grey slip; burnished. Common variety.
118. Almost similar to No. 117, above, but having thick body and finely burnished brownish slip. Brownish slip is very rare.
119. Pitcher: with a vertical featureless rim slightly thickened at the top; burnished grey slip.
120. Pitcher: with out-turned rim and mottled surface; burnished, grey slip on the outside.
121. Similar to No. 120, above, but having black burnished slip on both sides.
122. Pitcher: with slightly flaring rim 'rippled' on the top and roughened outer surface. No burnishing, no slip.
123. Vase: with disc-base having mat-impression in the form of a spiral. It is probably made on slow wheel. No burnishing.
124. Bowl: open mouthed, with tapering sides and blunt carination, burnished grey slip on both sides.
125. Base of a small bowl with internal grooves; burnished grey slip on the outside.
126. Hollow-pedestal-base of grey ware; vertically scraped and burnished.
127. Similar, but without scraping.
128. Fragment of a bowl (probably bowl-on-stand) showing burnished light grey slip on both sides.

POTTERY OF PERIOD II

The entire pottery of this period fall in Group -A of our classification. the two sherds of grey ware found in the excavation might be from earlier strata. The most usual forms include storage vessel, water pitcher, langri,

kneading trough, cooking tray, bowl (coarse fabric), delicate pedestalled (both painted and plain), dish and perforated vessels (probably used as strainer). In general the clay is well-levigated and firing excellent. Some of the pitchers have black painted bands upon the shoulders, otherwise the larger number of sherds is plain. Applique bands of clay appear in various forms as decoration.

The hall-mark of this period is however the delicate pedestalled bowl (Pl. 98 a. No. 192) here named as 'Fashion' Ware—having extremely thin profile of the sides, almost fringing upon 'egg shell' thickness. It was most probably not used as crockery and as such calls for further discussion. The 'Fashion Ware' appears immediately after the 'break' (layer 10) and continues to flourish till the earliest Kushana occupation (layer (6)) at this site, with focus upon layer. (8). The ware is made on fast wheel. The excellence and homogeneity of the paste selected for these specimens is abundantly demonstrated by the extremely thin walls adroitly obtained. Visibly the clay is of very small particle size with very little mica contents. Only a few sherds exhibit mottled surface resulting from ill-firing. Generally the oxidation is complete. There is no trace of burnishing and the surface treatment consists of a thin coating of slip of which the colour ranges from deep red to pinkish red and chocolate. Majority of the sherds is painted in black. By the way it should be remarked that surface treatment along with painted motifs were done before firing.

The motifs include peacock in a variety of forms, horizontal bands, sun-flower, concentric circles, dots, oblique strokes alternating with dots, stylised floral designs, sigma and a curious stepped motif. The sherds showing peacock are larger in number. The painted patterns appear to be formal rather than natural. The most usual form is that of a small bowl with convex and slightly out-turned rim. It is invariably provided with a hollow-pedestal-base. On the basis of surface treatment two varieties can be pointed out — (i) painted and (ii) plain (one complete example of variety (ii) was found in the excavation). Variety (i) may be sub-divided into those (a) painted on the upper half of the bowl and (b) painted on the entire body of the bowl. The pedestal itself is always plain.

A large number of fragments representing ordinary drinking bowls were also found. They exhibit rather coarse fabric and poor surface treatment consisting of red or reddish brown slip, and grooved sides. They have either flat, or ring base very occasionally hollow-pedestal-base as well. The mass production of these bowls suggest an ordinary purpose. Their quantity increases in the upper strata. None of them is painted.

On our estimate the 'Fashion Ware' can be dated to the 1st century B.C. or A.D. The association of a Scytho-Parthian (?) coin lends further support. (For details see 'Comparison and Chronology').

(The representative series are given below. All the specimens have red slip unless otherwise stated).

Fig. 25
Period II (Scytho-Parthian)
St. (9)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 129. Pitcher: | with externally collared and bevelled rim; oxidation not complete. |
| 130. Pitcher: | with externally thickened simple rim. |
| 131. Pitcher: | similar, but with a coarse variety. |
| 132. Pitcher: | with externally thickened and under-cut rim. |
| 133. Pitcher: | with straight neck and slightly projected rim having groove on the top and a cord on below. |
| 134. Pitcher: | with flaring neck and beaked rim; thin fabric . It is covered by soot. |
| 135. Vase. | with flaring rim having groove on the top. It shows extremely fine surface finish; reddish buff slip; well-fired. It was probably rubbed on the surface with a piece of cloth to create a uniform and smooth surface. |
| 136. Large bowl (langri); | with slightly incurved and externally collared rim having double groove below. Different slip on both sides — reddish buff on the inner face and pinkish red on the outer face. |
| 137. Similar, | a coarse variety. |
| 138. 'Fashion Ware' bowl | with slightly out-curved rim and fine surface treatment. It has reddish buff slip on both sides and a black painted flower and stylised leaf pattern. Double horizontal bands mark the upper half of the bowl reserved for painting. It is smoky in section. |
| 139. Similar, | it has deep red slip and black painted peacock with hatched body. |

140. Similar, but plain.
141. Bowl: with slightly everted rim. It is coarse variety and has greater numerical frequency. Plain.
142. Bowl: with nail-headed rim and groove below. It is a shallow variety. Plain.
143. Bowl: with internally grooved vertical sides. The slip approaches chocolate red colour. Plain.
144. Bowl: with slightly everted rim and grooves above the shoulder. It has a thin coating of light brown slip. Plain.
145. Bowl: with vertical rim and a raised band below. Plain. This variety is quite abundant.
146. Bowl: with everted rim and hollow-pedestal-base; light red slip. Plain.
147. Bowl: with vertical featureless rim. Plain.
148. Bowl: with convex sides and fine surface treatment. Plain.
149. Ordinary drinking bowl with rim thickened on the top, no slip. It is very common throughout.
150. Hollow-pedestal-base of a bowl; coarse fabric, smoky section and poor slip.
151. Dish: with incurved sides and flat bottom; light red slip. Plain.

Fig. 26

St. (8) (Red Ware continues)

152. Storage vessel: large size; with short neck and flat-topped under-cut rim.
153. Storage vessel: medium size; with internally notched flat-topped rim and slashed neck; fugitive reddish slip.
154. Storage vessel: small size; with externally collared rim and light red slip showing greater mica contents. It is a common type.

- 155. Pitcher: with obliquely cut and slightly flaring rim.
- 156. Pitcher: with flat-topped out-turned rim. Oxidation is not complete.
- 157. Pitcher: with short squarish rim and globular body. It has reddish buff slip and 'black core'.
- 158. Pitcher: with externally grooved and flaring rim. Ill-fired.
- 159. Pitcher: with straight neck and externally flanged rim. Same as No. 51, above.
- 160. Pitcher: with short neck and externally thickened rim. Ill-fired.
- 161. Pitcher: with externally collared and bevelled rim.
- 162. Pitcher: small size; with almost squarish rim having a groove on the top. It is covered with soot.
- 163. Pitcher: small size; with flaring rim and grooved top.
- 164. Vase: with externally thickened and grooved rim. It has narrow mouth.
- 164. Vase: with out-curved rim and fine fabric.
- 167. Vase: similar to No. 135, above.
- 168. Large bowl (langri): with externally thickened rim and slightly incurved sides.
- 169. Large bowl (langri): with collared rim.
- 170. Large bowl (langri): sharp rim thickened and notched at the base.
- 171. Large bowl (langri): with flat-topped clubbed rim.
- 172. Flat-base of a large bowl; coarse fabric.
- 173. Bowl: with nail-head rim and corrugated sides; red slip is treated on both sides.
- 174. 'Fashion Ware' bowl with out-curved rim and convex sides. It has black painted peacock.
- 175. Bowl: with bevelled rim and semi-circular body.

- 176. Bowl: with slightly out-curved rim, and corrugated straight neck.
- 177. Bowl: with out-curved rim. It is a common and coarse variety.
- 178. Same as No. 174 above, but without painted motif. It shows blocked inner surface due to ill-firing. The clay has greater proportion of sand ('fashion ware').
- 179. Bowl: with straight and somewhat corrugated rim, fine surface treatment.
- 180. Bowl: with almost straight sides.
- 181. Bowl: with incurved sides.
- 182. Shallow bowl with out-curved rim; a coarse variety.
- 183. Bowl: with internally bevelled straight rim having corrugation on the outside.
- 184. Rim of a pedestalled bowl. Ill-fired ('fashion ware').
- 185. Similar to No. 184 above; with corrugated rim. It is a complete specimen. Plain ('fashion ware').

Fig. 27

- 186. Similar, with out-curved rim and black painted design showing sun-flower and vertical strokes. ('fashion ware').
- 187. Similar, with peacock ('fashion ware').
- 188. Similar, akin to No. 187, above ('fashion ware').
- 189. Similar, with cross hatched band ('fashion ware').
- 190. Similar, with peacock and a curious floral design. ('fashion ware').
- 191. Similar, akin to No. 190, above. ('fashion ware').
- 192. Similar, with elongated peacock ('fashion ware').
- 193. Similar, with a stylised pipal leaf motif. ('fashion ware').
- 194. Similar, with a peacock motif. ('fashion ware').

195. Painted fragment of a bowl showing oblique strokes and double lines.
196. Painted rim of a bowl showing horizontal strokes in light red colour over chocolate slip. Vary rare variety.
197. Painted fragment of red ware showing concentric circles.
198. Painted fragment of a bowl showing vertical and oblique strokes. The slip is brownish.
199. Similar, showing dots.
200. Hollow-pedestal-base of 'fashion ware'.
201. Disc-base of an ordinary drinking bowl; ill-fired.
202. Disc-base of grey ware. It is the solitary example in this layer and may be out of context.
203. Perforated lug of red-ware.
204. Narrow necked Surahi of red-ware. It shows mottled surface and light red slip; oxidation is not complete.
205. Fragment of red-ware showing close perforations. Probably part of a strainer.
206. Fragment of red-ware showing slashed cordon.
207. Similar to No. 79, above.

Fig. 28

St. (7) (Red Ware continues)

208. Storage vessel: with out-turned under-cut rim; coated with deep red slip.
209. Storage vessel: with flat topped and internally beaked rim and thin profile at the shoulders.
210. Basin: with externally thickened flat-topped rim and double groove on the neck.
211. Pitcher: with externally rolled rim and thin profile at the shoulders; reddish buff slip.
212. Pitcher: with externally collared and under-cut rim; light red slip.

213. Pitcher: with externally projected rim grooved on the top.
214. Pitcher: with vertical neck and externally thickened out-curved rim. It is covered with soot.
215. Pitcher: with out-curved and externally grooved rim and expanded shoulders.
216. Pitcher: with simple flaring rim.
217. Pitcher: with externally thickened rim and expanded shoulders. It is covered by soot.
218. Pitcher: with slightly out-curved and externally grooved rim. It has expanded shoulder. This variety of water pitcher first appears at this level and continues upward with greater stress in the Kushana levels.
219. Pitcher: with externally flanged and obliquely cut rim. It is very common variant of the water pitcher.
220. Large bowl (langri): with collared rim and grooved neck. It has black groove.
221. Large bowl (langri): with externally thickened rounded rim.
222. Large bowl (langri): with nail-head rim and convex sides.
223. Bowl: with lightly bevelled vertical rim and double grooves on the side. It is a common variety.
224. Bowl: with out-curved rim, black painted peacock and leaf pattern; ('Fashion Ware').
225. Bowl: with slightly everted rim and thin section. Variant of 'Fashion Ware'. Plain.
226. Bowl: with vertical rim and thin section; another variant of 'Fashion Ware'. Plain.
227. Bowl: variant of 'Fashion Ware' with light grey slip.
228. Similar, with reddish buff slip.
229. Similar, with deep red slip.
230. Similar, with pinkish red slip.

Fig. 29

231. 'Fashion Ware': bowl with black painted sigma signs.
232. Similar, with floral design. ('Fashion Ware').
233. **Similar, with peacock** ('Fashion Ware').
234. 'Fashion Ware': the plain variety.
235. Hollow-pedestal-base of 'Fashion Ware' bowl; reddish buff colour.
236. Variant of 'Fashion Ware' bowl with slightly flaring rim and black painted lines.
237. Variant of 'Fashion Ware' showing black painted lines on the lower half. This is the only example.
238. Ordinary drinking bowl with bevelled rim and corrugated neck. Reddish slip.
239. Similar, but without corrugations.
240. Similar, with pedestal-base.
241. Similar, having coarse fabric and flat-base.
242. **Similar, with flat-base** and internally grooved sides.
243. **Similar, with ring-base** and reddish buff slip.
244. Similar, with hollow-pedestal-base and thick section; bright red slip.
245. **Ring-base of a jar** coated with reddish buff slip showing greater mica contents. This is a new variety; upwards it becomes more abundant.
246. Hollow-pedestal-base of internal in-turned at the bottom. This is a very rare variety.
247. Handle of red-ware; plain.
248. Lug of red work; plain.
249. Fragment of cooking tray (or hearth) having flat base. It is ill-fired and shows gritty clay mixed with straw. Four superimposed thin coatings of fine paste (clay) can be seen on the inside.
250. Fragment of red ware showing black painted floral design.

POTTERY OF PERIOD III (Kushana Period)

Almost all the principal pottery types of the preceding period continue uninterrupted except the 'Fashion Ware' bowls of which only few sherds of plain variety were found. Now the stress is shifted to water pitchers with various rim formations and particularly to the types which only just appeared in the preceding period. The variety of water pitcher with grooved rim (grooves may be on the top or on the outer face), for example, enjoy greater numerical frequency. It is worth remembering here that this variety appears first in Period II and from Period III onward it continued to flourish with slight alteration in the rim formation. These pitchers are often painted black on red or reddish slip on the shoulders or below the neck. Surface treatment is often good. The most usual motifs include loops, wavy line (horizontal as well as vertical), parallel bands, suspended leaves and some curious floral designs. Quite a few examples show a triangular impressed design.

Decoration of the storage vessels in the form of applied cordons undergoes a variety of shapes — it may be (i) simple cordon grooved in the middle (ii) twisted and cut in the cable pattern (iii) cross hatched, (iv) or simply slashed.

On the basis of coins this pottery is ascribed to the Kushana Period.

(The representative series are given below. All specimens are slipped red unless otherwise stated).

Fig. 30
(Period III)

251. Storage vessel: large size; with internally beaked and obliquely cut rim. Smoky section.
252. Storage vessel: medium size; externally thickened and tapering rim. Oxidation is not complete.
253. Storage vessel: large size; with obliquely cut and out-turned rim.
254. Storage vessel: with externally thickened incurved rim. Oxidation is not complete.
255. Storage vessel: externally thickened tapering rim. It has reddish buff slip and grooves on the shoulder.
256. Similar, with vertical neck.

257. Pitcher: with out-curved rim having an external groove and black painted bands on the shoulder.
258. Similar.
259. Pitcher: with vertical rim having a groove at the base.
260. Pitcher: with externally thickened and grooved rim.
261. Similar, with black painted bands and expanded shoulders.
262. Pitcher: with externally thickened vertical rim having grooves on the outside.
263. Similar, with grooves on the top.
264. Pitcher: with externally notched rim having deep internal grooves and corrugations on the neck.
265. Pitcher: with a flat-topped and obliquely cut rim. It has a black painted band below the neck.
266. Pitcher: with vertical rim notched at the base. It has reddish buff slip.
267. Pitcher: with simple out-curved rim.
268. Pitcher: with flat topped rim and perforation at the shoulder.
269. Pitcher: with beaded rim and greyish slip (that is solitary example having greyish slip in this level).
270. Pitcher: with high neck and sharply out-turned rim and smoky section (this is a new type).
271. Pitcher: with thickened rim rounded on the top. Ill-fired.
272. Pitcher: with slightly out-curved and nail headed rim.
273. Pitcher: with externally flanged rim.
274. Pitcher: with small neck and externally thickened rim. It has double grooves on the shoulder.
275. Jar: with externally thickened triangular rim.
276. Similar, with slightly flaring rim.
277. Similar, with out-turned rim.

278. Jar: with externally projected rim having deep groove on the top.
279. Ring base of a similar jar.

Fig. 31
(Period III continues)

280. Large bowl (*langri*): with flat topped out-curved rim having external carination. It has double grooves on the shoulder.
281. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally thickened rim having a deep groove at the base.
282. Large bowl (*langri*): with out-curved rim and reddish buff slip. It has poor surface finish.
283. Large bowl (*langri*): with flat topped rim and a notched applique band on the shoulder resembling cable pattern.
284. Large bowl (*langri*): with incurved rim having a projection at the base. It has smoky section.
285. Large bowl (*langri*): with slightly incurved thick rim and double groove on the neck.
286. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally collared rim and double groove on the neck.
287. Large bowl (*langri*): with slightly incurved and collared rim.
288. Similar to No. 280, above, having external grooves.

Fig. 32
(Period III continues)

289. Shallow dish: with externally thickened rim and roughened base.
290. Dish: with incurved sides and an external wavy line.
291. Dish: with incurved sides; plain.
292. Rim fragment of a large pedestalled bowl in red ware showing black painted horizontal bands on both sides. It has fine surface treatment and reddish buff slip over which the painted patterns are executed. Suspended towards the

inside there are groups of double black painted strokes. Here, this is a new variety and continues upward. We have a complete example in the top startum.

- 293. Similar, with red colour.
- 294. Similar, with leaf pattern; it has thin fabric.
- 295. Similar, but painted on the inside only.
- 296. Bowl: with internal grooves and ring base. Fine surface treatment.
- 297. Hollow-pedestal-base of a bowl of reddish buff colour.
- 298. Similar to No. 296, above.
- 299. Bowl with externally grooved sharp rim.
- 300. Similar, with incurved rim.
- 301. Bowl: with sharp and externally grooved rim.
- 302. Bowl of the ordinary drinking variety with flat base and internally grooved sides. Coarse surface; quite abundant.
- 303. Similar, with reddish slip.
- 304. Similar, with internally rolled rim.
- 305. Small straight sided cup with flat base.
- 306. Top of an inkpot with two opposite holes in the rim for string.

FIG: 33.

- 307. Fragment of a perforated redware.
- 308. **Handle of a large cooking pan.**
- 309. Spout of painted red-ware (curved in the middle).
- 310. Similar, but straight.
- 311. Fragment of redware showing triangular notches.
- 312. Fragment of red-ware showing slashed oblique lines.
- 313. Similar; with slashed **cordons** in the manner of rope.

- 314. Similar; with black painted bands and slashed cordon.
- 315. Similar: with black painted bands.
- 316. Similar: with black painted criss-cross pattern.
- 317. Similar: with black painted horizontal bands, vertical strokes and wavy line.
- 318. Similar: with black painted double loops and horizontal bands on whitish back-ground.

POTTERY OF PERIOD IV.

In general the principal pottery types of the preceding period continue without interruption. However, the emphasis is shifted towards certain other types which either just appeared in the preceeding phase and become numerous or appear for the first time at this level. The water pitcher with grooved rim become more abundant and that with externally thickened triangular rim, very often with black painted pattern, become all the more predominant. A new type here named as 'goblet-on-stand' makes its first appearance and becomes the hall-mark of this period. It is made of well-levigated clay visibly free from any other organic substance. On the average the firing is excellent resulting in complete oxidation. Surface treatment consists of a thick coating of red or reddish buff slip (very often plain) though in a few specimens it is painted black on red.

An appreciable number of specimens is broken at the joint demonstrating amply that the goblet and the stand were made separately on fast wheel and then luted together when the body clay was leather hard. This joint is very carefully hidden off under a thick layer of slip. On the basis of shape the following varieties can be pointed out. Those having: (i) projected and externally notched rim (Fig. 36/353, 354), (ii) simple out-turned rim (Fig. 36/351), (iii) Vertically perforated through the stem (Fig. 36/355, 356), (iv) Slightly flaring rim and expanded shoulders (Fig. 36/349, 350), (v) resembling dish-on-stand (Fig. 36/349). The first three varieties are often externally painted.

Another significant feature is the bichrome decoration restricted, though, to certain types including spouted vessels, dishes, lids and pitchers. In these examples the original brick-red colour of the vessel is first coated with a lustrous slip resembling goldwater which serves as a back-

ground to the painted designs the range of which is, in fact, very limited. Alternating bands of bright red and greyish colour or very scantily, groups of vertical strokes form the usual motifs.

Less frequently occurs a shallow pan with claw-shaped side-handle (Fig: 35 345, 346). In one example (covered by black soot on both sides) the handle is girdled by double clay fillets separated by clay pellets or roundels applied on the inner face of the side. This is a unique type and restricted only to stratum (3). Along with it appears a narrow necked vase with S-Shaped profile (again, a solitary example). Most of the pottery illustrated below was found in the 'water reservior' in association with a large number of terracotta lamps, some Buddhist sculptures and many glass bangles as described above. No coin was found there, though cumulative trend of the evidence would suggest a fifth century date for this material.

(The representative series are given below. All the examples are slipped red unless otherwise stated).

FIG: 34

319. Storage vessel: with grooved top having groups of tripple black painted transverse slashes on top of the rim and similar bands on the shoulder.
320. Storage vessel: with externally thickened and obliquely cut rim.
321. Storage vessel: with out-turned rim and grooved shoulder.
322. Pitcher: with externally flanged high rim and black painted horizontal bands on the shoulder (this is a new variety and continues upwards).
323. Pitcher or small jar: with externally grooved rim (there are five horizontal grooves) and black painted bands on the neck and shoulder.
324. Pitcher: with externally grooved out-turned rim and black painted bands over lustrous slip.
325. Pitcher: with flat topped rim having an internal deep grooved and expanded shoulders.
326. Pitcher: with out-turned rim having grooves on the top. It shows a black painted criss-cross pattern over the shoulders.

- 327. Pitcher: with tapering rim and expanded shoulders marked with painted bands.
- 328. Pitcher: with high neck and out-turned rim. Similar to No. 270, above. Here it occurs more often than before.
- 329. Bottle-necked jar of redware having black painted bands over brownish slip.
- 330. Large bowl (*langri*): with flat topped and externally grooved rim.
- 331. Large bowl (*langri*): With out-turned rim and internal grooves; coarse fabric.
- 332. Ordinary drinking bowl; coarse fabric.
- 333. Similar, but smaller size
- 334. Flat base of a similar bowl; coarse fabric.
- 335. Ring base of a similar bowl.
- 336. Lid of redware with central knob, coarse fabric.
- 337. Similar: with conical knob.
- 338. Lid of bichrome ware: with conical central knob and painted bands in red and black over lustrous slip on the inside.

FIG: 35

(PERIOD IV CONTINUES)

- 339. Ring-base of redware having lustrous slip on the outside and red slip on the inside.
- 340. Small vase with disc base and lustrous slip (to become more abundant in the succeeding period V, but the later examples are coarse and with lustrous slip).
- 341. Fragment of a deep trough; coarse fabric.
- 342. Similar, with grey inner surface.
- 343. Shallow dish having grooved top and roughened base.
- 344. Bottom of a coarse bowl.

345. Flaring rim of a bowl having claw shaped handle; lustrous slip. Compare with No. 346, below.
346. Shallow dish or pan with claw-shaped handle luted on the edge of the rim. The handle is girdled by double clay fillets having clay pellets in between them. It is covered by black soot and shows coarse fabric on both sides. No slip.
347. Rim fragment of a bowl-on-stand of bichrome ware having red and black painted alternating bands on both sides and groups of transverse painted slashes on the rim. It is represented by a few fragments all having lustrous slip on both surfaces.

FIG. 36
(PERIOD IV CONTINUES)

348. Bowl-on-pedestal: with open-mouthed cup and internally corrugated sides. It has hollow-pedestal-base. (Variety V).
349. Goblet-on-stand: with slightly flaring rim and corrugated neck and shoulder. It has hollow pedestal. (Variety IV).
350. Akin to No. 349, above, with grooved double lines below the neck.
351. Bowl-on-stand: with externally projected rim and hollow-pedestal-base. (Variety ii).
353. Akin to No. 351, with externally notched rim. (Variety ii).
354. Goblet-on-stand: with out-turned rim notched at the top. It has corrugations above the shoulder and black painted bands all over the body. The solid stem is collared in the middle marked with applied circular clay pellets. (Variety i).
355. Bowl-on-stand: with vertically perforated stem and black painted bands on the exterior. (Variety iii)
356. Small bowl with internal grooves and small hollow pedestal. (Variety iii).

POTTERY OF PERIOD V.

Red Ware — both painted and plain — is the chief ceramic ware of

period V. Most of the potsherds exhibit excellent firing and well-levigated clay. The surface treatment, in most cases, consists of red or reddish brown slip which also serves as a background for painted patterns. In case of drinking bowls produced in large numbers, however, the surface treatment is no more than a thin wash which cannot even hide away the wheel marks. No sign of burnishing is noticed. The fabric varies from thin to thick, with greater stress upon the latter. The use of lustrous slip continues in diminishing number.

The recurrent shapes are those of storage vessel (Fig. 37/357-365) water pitcher (Fig. 37/366-372 and Fig. 38/373-384), large bowl (*langri*) (Fig. 38/395, 396 and Fig. 39/392-405), dish (Fig. 40/415-417); kneading trough (Fig. 41/426, 427); drinking bowl (Fig. 40/407-411); cooking tray (Fig. 41/431); pedestalled bowls (Fig. 40/418) and small jar (Fig. 38/391-393). The storage vessels and large bowls (*langri*) are very often externally cordoned or decorated with an applied band which is cut in a variety of forms. The pitchers, on the whole, undergo a further change in the rim formation which amounts to greater stress upon external corrugations which become, in fact, one of the prominent feature of the ceramics of this period. There is no significant change in the fabric and shape of kneading trough and drinking bowl except their mass production suggesting a utilitarian use of them.

The decorative motifs including horizontal bands (Fig. 41/438), loops (Fig. 396/389), hatched or solid triangles (Fig. 38/384 and Fig. 42/445), vertical strokes and other floral patterns (Fig. 42/447-448 and Fig. 40/418) are usually executed in black, though, less frequently simple decoration in white (No. 41/438) is also found. It is worth pointing out that the use of white colour appears at this level without parallel in the earlier strata. Except in a few cases the painting is restricted to the outer surface of the pots. The most distinctive motif being the group of triple leaves suspended from a stem.

The hall-mark of period V ceramic industry is, however, stamped decoration consisting of rosettes, concentric circles and impressed parallel bars and dots (Fig. 38/385, 386, 391). So also is the large pedestalled bowl showing excellent surface treatment and painted designs on the inside (Fig. 40/418). The handled pots, in which the handles are very often roughly striated, tend to increase in number (Fig. 42/450) Similarly the spouted vessels, with plain or decorated spouts (Fig. 41/434-437) also enjoy greater numerical frequency.

For comparison Charsada-1, as represented in its layers 6-4, offers

exact parallels. For details see 'Comparison and chronology'. Even in the absence of coinage, Sir Mortimer observed with brilliant intuition that pottery from layers 6-4 (of (Ch. 1) "may be as early as the eighth century A.D." (Wheeler, P. 80). Here we have a confirmatory evidence of the coinage of the Hindu Shahi Kings datable from 8th to 10th century A.D. Stacul has reported similar pottery from Ghaligai rock-shelter (Comp. stacul, P. 219).

(Selected specimens are given below. All the examples are slipped red unless otherwise stated).

FIG. 37
(PERIOD V).

357. Storage vessel: with thick-set obliquely cut rim and thin profiles on the neck. It has gritty section.
358. Storage vessel: with internally beaked rim and slashed cordon on the shoulder.
359. Storage vessel: with externally collared rim and poor-surface finish showing black spots and reddish wash.
360. Storage vessel: with externally beaked rim showing reddish slip.
361. Storage vessel: with squarish rim.
362. Storage vessel: with flat topped rim and thin profile at the neck. It has light red slip.
363. Storage vessel: with out-turned rim and expanded shoulders. It shows reddish wash.
364. Storage vessel: with squarish rim having external grooves.
365. Storage vessel: with out-turned rim externally thickened and grooved in the middle. This variety is most prominent here.
366. Pitcher: with externally thickened rim and grooved shoulder. It shows light red wash.
367. Pitcher: with obliquely cut rim and thin profile below the neck. It is covered with soot.
368. Pitcher: with externally thickened out-curved rim. It is covered by lime-wash.

- 369. Pitcher: with obliquely cut and internally notched rim. It shows traces of soot.
- 370. Pitcher: with thickened rim and thin profile at the shoulder. It shows red wash.
- 371. Pitcher: with beaked rim having carination and grooved lines.
- 372. Pitcher: with externally projected rim and spout on the shoulder. It may also be a large bowl.

FIG. 38 (*Period V continues*)

- 373. Pitcher: with externally flanged rim and horizontal rows of impressed rectangular patterns. It has lustrous slip. (Lustrous slip is represented by very few sherds at this level).
- 374. Pitcher: with squarish rim and thin profile at the neck.
- 375. Pitcher: with flat topped and externally grooved rim (this variety becomes more abundant).
- 376. Pitcher: with sharp rim having external corrugations and black painted band on the neck. It is similar to No. 323, above. Here it becomes more frequent.
- 377. Pitcher: with out-turned rim and grooves below neck. It shows reddish wash.
- 378. Pitcher: with externally beaked rim having grooves on the top. It has fine red slip and black painted bands.
- 379. Pitcher: akin to No. 376, but without external corrugations. It has black painted bands below the neck and fine red slip.
- 380. Pitcher: with out-curved and externally notched rim. It has light red wash.
- 381. Pitcher: akin to 376, above.
- 382. Pitcher: with externally thickened rim having deep groove on the inside. It has brownish wash on the inside and light red on the outside — a very occasional treatment.
- 383. Pitcher: with slightly flaring rim having external corrugations.

- 384. Pitcher: with externally flanged rim and expanded shoulders. It has black painted bands and hatched triangles.
- 385. Jar: with stamped circles and parallel bars. It shows reddish slip.
- 386. Fragment of red-ware with stamped notches and concentric circles.
- 387. Jar: with externally flanged rim. It shows reddish wash.
- 388. Small jar with out-curved rim and impressed triangular design on the shoulder. It has fine red slip.
- 389. Akin to No. 384, with black painted loops and hanging leaves. It shows traces of soot. (This motif becomes the characteristic of this period).
- 390. Akin to No. 376, with external corrugations. It has slightly everted rim.
- 391. Buff jar with stamped rosettes and triangular notches. It has brownish slip. (Stamped decoration is typical of Period-V pottery).
- 392. Small jar of reddish ware.
- 393. Small jar with flat topped rim and grooved shoulder. Ill fired.
- 394. Strainer of red ware with externally rolled rim and close perforations on the body.
- 395. Large bowl (*langri*): with nail head rim having external grooves. It has thin profile at the neck.
- 396. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally collared rim. It has fine red slip on both sides.

FIG: 39. (*Period V continues*)

- 397. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally flanged rim.
- 398. Large bowl (*langri*): with out-turned rim and almost vertical sides. It is a very common variety.
- 399. Large bowl (*langri*): with beaked rim and red wash.
- 400. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally projected rim and grooved shoulder.
- 401. Large bowl (*langri*): with out-turned rim having grooves below.

- 402. Large bowl (*langri*): with externally rounded rim and obliquely striated applied band,
- 403. Similar to No. 395, above.
- 404. Large bowl (*langri*): with flat topped rim and grooved shoulder. This is an ordinary variety.
- 405. Large bowl (*langri*): with slightly inverted rim and reddish wash.

FIG: 40 (*Period V continues*)

- 406. Akin to No. 405, above, with fine red slip on both sides.
- 407. Small bowl: with nail head rim and convex sides. It is very rare variety at this level.
- 408. Bowl: with thickened rim and convex sides. It shows light red slip.
- 409. Bowl: with slightly inverted rim and rough surface finish. It shows reddish wash. This is an ordinary bowl found in large number.
- 410. Similar, but large size.
- 411. Bowl: with slightly everted rim and blunt carination almost half way down the side. This is a very rare variety.
- 412. Lid of red-ware having central knob and featureless rim.
- 413. Similar; having flattened rim.
- 414. Lugged pot of red ware showing reddish wash.
- 415. Dish: with incurved sides and sagger base. It has fine red slip on both faces.
- 416. Dish: with incurved sides and flat bottom. It has mottled outer surface.
- 417. Dish: with clubbed rim having grooves on the top and roughened flat bottom. It has reddish brown slip.
- 418. Bowl: consisting of hollow-pedestal-base and large upper bowl showing rich red slip on the inner surface upon which patterns are executed in black. On the bottom is a full blown flower with twelve petals alternately hatched. In the field above runs a floral design like a creeper. This is distinctive of Period V.

- 419. **Hollow stem of a bowl-on-stand showing rich red slip and black painted bands.**
- 420. **Almost similar, showing brownish wash and poor surface finish.**
- 421. **Upper part of a bowl-on-stand showing red slip and black painted bands on the exterior.**
- 422. **Hollow-pedestal-base of a bowl showing red slip.**
- 423. **Rim fragment of a bowl-on-stand showing rich red slip and black painted bands on both faces. It has fine surface finish.**

FIG: 41 (Period V continues)

- 424. **Small vase with everted rim and flat base. It has thin red wash and poor surface finish.**
- 425. **Small vase with disc base; poor surface finish. It shows reddish wash.**
- 426. **Kneading trough; with clubbed rim and roughened flat bottom; no slip.**
- 427. **Kneading trough: with tapering sides and roughened bottom.**
- 428. **Small trough with clubbed rim having grooves on the top and roughened bottom.**
- 429. **Shallow trough: with out-curved beaked rim and externally projected roughened bottom. It is covered by soot.**
- 430. **Trough with almost vertical sides and flat bottom. It has deep striated lines on both sides, no slip.**
- 431. **Cooking-tray of coarse red-ware showing grey section and thin reddish wash.**
- 432. **Shallow trough of fine red fabric with attached handle on top of the rim. It shows roughened bottom.**
- 433. **Similar, but handle roughly striated at the ends.**
- 434. **Spout of plain red-ware with circular outlet. It has thin red wash.**
- 435. **Spout of red ware having dimple in the middle and elliptical out-let (This variety becomes more common). It has black painted strokes.**
- 436. **Spout of plain red ware having conical projection at the base and circular out-let.**

- 436-a. Spout of plain red ware with applied decoration imitating animal face.
- 437. Rim fragment of a jar of redware with roughly striated handle.
- 438. Fragment of red-ware showing black and white painted alternating bands. (Simple decoration in white appears for the first time).
- 439. Ring base of a jar of redware (Ring base becomes more frequent at this level).
- 440. Fragment of redware showing applied cordon cut in a cable pattern.
- 441. Similar, showing applied band cut in groups of oblique lines.
- 442. Similar, the band is cut in criss-cross pattern.
- 443. Similar, the band is cut by oblique slashes.
- 444. Similar, showing herring bone design.

FIG. 42 (*Period V continues*)

- 445. Fragment of redware showing black painted solid triangles.
- 446. Similar, showing black painted group of triple leaves suspending from a stem.
- 447. Similar.
- 448. Similar, showing a curious painted floral design.
- 449. Similar, showing black painted criss-cross pattern.
- 450. Handled pot with striated lugs.

BUDDHIST ROCK ENGRAVINGS IN DIR

By Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani

Rock carvings in the Frontier regions have been long reported. One group of these carvings has been firmly dated by the late Col. D.H. Gordon. To this same category belong the newly-discovered carvings at Gogdara in Swat. But there is another group representing Buddhist figures. Prof. Tucci vaguely surmised about their dating. The new materials found in Dir have now placed at our disposal sufficient evidence to give a definite chronology to these carvings. According to this chronological scheme they fall in 6th-7th centuries. A.D. and thus they bear out the chief evidence that the Gandhara art did not come to an end in the fifth century by the so-called destruction of the White Huns. It continued and evolved new forms and styles until it merged itself in the art of the Hindu Shahis.

Prehistoric rock carvings in Gandhara have been found in several places. Paterson and Drummond, in their work *Soan the Palaeolithic of Pakistan*, have illustrated a few of them from Mandori in the Nizampur Valley on the right bank of the river Indus. Col. D.H. Gordon (*Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, PP. 111-112) has discussed the merits of these carvings in great length and placed them in a proper chronological perspective. At Mandori there is also one line of Kharoshthi inscription. These carvings are rather very crude and the tools with which they have been worked are extremely primitive. Almost all of them are drawn by deep lines of scratching on the surface of the rock. The subject matter is too simple — some animals, humans or objects like cart.

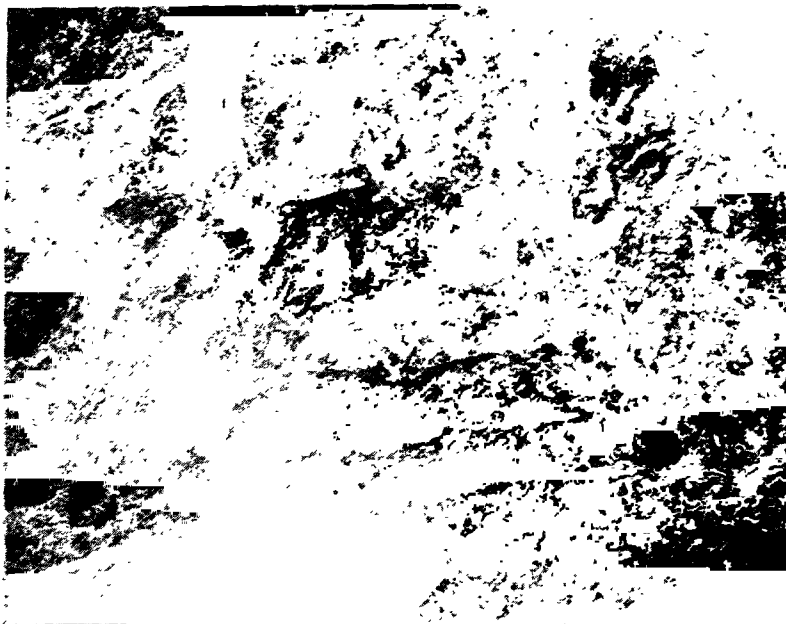
Such primitive engravings were noticed by us at several places in Dir near Timargarha and Khal. Prof. G. Tucci, in his "Preliminary Reports and studies on the Italian Excavations in Swat (Pakistan), published in *East and West*, Vol. 9. Dec. 1958, reports the discovery of such carvings. He writes, "I discovered on the occasion of the survey I made of the spur of mountain which closes the valley of Udegram, dividing it from that of Gogdara. The whole side, above which towers on the right an image of the the Buddha, is carved with drawings of wild or domestic animals, of various sizes, some of them truly remarkable. These are not only graffiti, but deep-cut engravings of which some are hollowed in the rock by the use of a yet harder stone, so that the surface thus excavated seems to be polished; the feline animals are recognizable by the stippling scattered over their bodies, imitating their spotted skins. The drawing and the *ductus* of the body consists of two triangles whose apexes touch, while the tails of the animals end



a. No. 193. Mane Tangai. — Dhyani Buddha



b. No. 194. Mane Tangai — Seated Buddhas and standing Padmapanis
on a huge boulder



a. No.195. Mane Tangai — Preaching Buddha
flanked by Padmapanis



b. No. 196. Mane Tangai — Dhyani Buddha
and standing Padmapani



c. No. 197. Mane Tangai — Dhyani Buddha
and standing Padmapani



a. No. 198. Mane Tangai — Padmapani
in lalitasana pose



b. No. 199. Mane Tangai — Padmapani
surrounded by other figures



a. No. 200. Mane Tangai — Seated Buddha



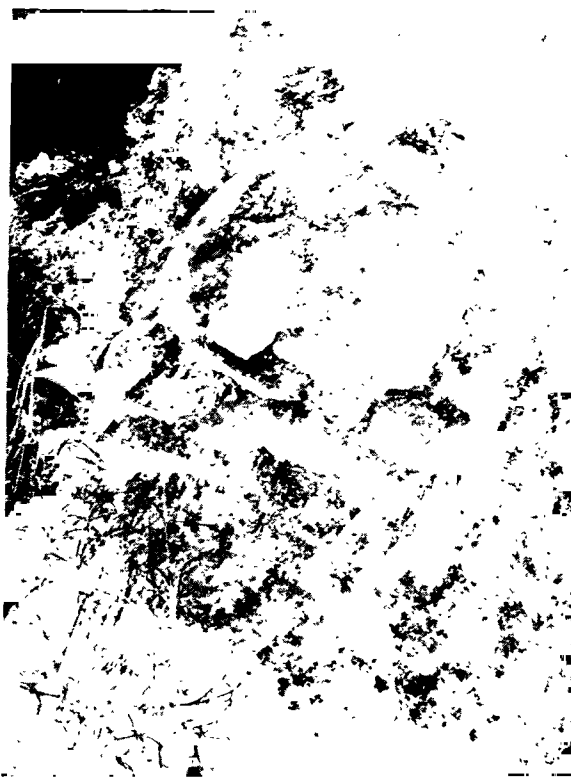
c. No. 202. Mane Tangai — Two Dhyani Buddhas



b. No. 201. Mane Tangai — Two Seated Padmapanis



a. No. 203. Damkot — Seated Padmapani



b. No. 204. Damkot — Seated Padmapani



c. No. 205. Damkot — Seated Padmapani
and Dhyani Buddha

a. No. 206. Damkot — Two Padmapanis



b. No. 207. Damkot — Two Padmapanis



in a spiral. These carvings are very like the paintings of animals on the vases of ancient Iran.

“Whatever may be the conclusions to which we shall be led when all the rock drawings are brought to light and when the yet untouched soil is uncovered, there would seem room for believing that we have here come to the dawn of the life of Udegram, and that these documents date back to proto-historic times”. This belief of Prof. Tucci has never been fulfilled. Though all the carvings have now been exposed and the culture-bearing strata excavated, still there has not appeared a detailed study of the carvings along with the proper analysis of the contents of the strata. However, from the technical point of view the carvings are not different from what Prof. Tucci published in his fig. 8., which bears a drawing of a standing Kushana king with a Kharoshthi inscription giving the name of Huvishka. On this rock the other figures are also visible. They appear to be slightly earlier in date than the Kharoshthi inscription. But in any case they must fall in line with the other rock carvings in Gandhara.

There is a second category of rock engravings found on the road side in Sdat. They were first observed by Sir Aurel Stein (See “An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts” in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*). Prof. Tucci has made a detailed reference to them in his “Preliminary Reports and Studies”. Some of them have now been removed to the reserve collection of the Swat Museum in Saidu Sharif. These were noted by us and described in the Introduction, Chapter (IV). Prof. Tucci comments “The rock carvings represent either a Buddha, standing or sitting, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied on both sides by a Bodhisattva, also standing or sitting. The representations of a peculiar Bodhisattva far exceed in number those of the Buddha or other Bodhisattvas and lead one to believe that the former represented, at least, during a certain period, the most popular deity of the country, a kind of protecting or patron God. This Bodhisattva is generally found in two forms: one is that of Lokeshvara in *rajalilasana* i.e. with left leg gently hanging from the throne and the lotus in the left hand; much more rare is the image of the same God standing”. While commenting on the stylistic comparison, Prof. Tucci remarks. “One has the impression that with the change of the religious contents the style also was greatly modified and one is inclined to see in this style the influence, even if remote, of the aesthetic ideals which developed in India during the Gupta period and which made the statues of Swat the westernmost though independent counterpart of those of the Pala art I should say that generally they cannot be older than seventh century and later than the tenth”.

As I examine the photographs published by Prof. Tucci and verify them in situ, I subdivide them into two groups. The first group includes the Buddha figures given by Prof. Tucci in Nos. 6 and 11. Here we find the Dhyani Buddhas in the typical Gandharan style but their late date is obvious from the semi-circular fall of the robe in front of the seat. This style is found at Chatpat (see pl. No. 53). There is, no doubt, that these two must be still later in date as the type became conventional very soon. We can also note chronological difference between Tucci's figures 6 and 11. These figures do not show any influence from the Gangetic Valley and they continue the older tradition. However, in the facial cut of figure 11, we may mark the high cheek bones of the Buddha. How far late they should be dated, must be decided on the evidence of the possible time when Buddhism received the last patronage in this region. Apparently this must be before the coming of the Hindu Shahis.

The second group includes the new type of the Bodhisattvas. Almost all the figures have been identified by Prof. Tucci as Lokeshvara, but his fig. No. 23 is said to be that of Vajrapani. This identification is not above doubt. Though the object held in his left hand is broken, still sufficient portion remains to suggest long stalk. And then all other features are similar to those seen in other figures. Prof. Tucci has rightly seen in them influence from the Gupta classical style as we have noted in our plate 56 a, No. 109, which belongs to the third period of Chatpat. In this third period more influences came from the Ganges valley. But there is nothing in them that speaks of the Pala art as has been vaguely surmised by Prof. Tucci. We have earlier noted the reason how Gupta influences could reach here from the time of the Kidar Kushanas onwards. But we can hardly see any reason for the Pala influences. In fact these figures do not compare at all with the Pala School of art. Therefore they should not be dated later than the 7th century A.D.

The rock engravings in Dir are of an entirely different category. They have been studied only in two places although information about other places has also been received. One group of these engravings is seen at the foot of the Damkot Range just on the bank of the Swat river worked on the stray rocks lying in the neighbourhood. These were possibly done by the Buddhist monks who lived in the monasteries on the top of the hill. They must have come down to the river Swat for fetching water and in their leisure hours they spent the time in carving these figures. The second group can be seen in the scattered boulders in the village of Mane Tangai, about three miles north of Mian Barangola, which is itself eight miles west of Chakdara fort. High up on the hill is the proper monastery but in the village itself near a modern mosque there is a huge granitic boulder stand-

ing upright facing east. There are other boulders scattered for about a mile. On the tall standing boulder and on a few of them in its neighbourhood the engravings have been done. It seems that the Buddhist monks on way up to the monastery must have stopped here for rest, and finding suitable stone they worked the figures on them.

At Mane Tangai the stone being granite is much better preserved and the figures can still be distinctly recognised. At Damkot the stone boulders are of schist and they have been constantly washed by the flood water of the river Swat. As a result they are much decayed and it is difficult to recognise the figures. Years of exposure have blackened the surface and the camera can hardly catch the lines of the figures. The photographs are consequently not very clear. The usual method of carving was to smoothen the the surface by under-cutting and chiselling and leaving the space in the middle for the figures. The lines of the figures were drawn on the left-over stone surface and the unwanted portion was cut out. Thus all these figures were actually made in low relief. But as the depth was too small, they have not come out boldly. The Buddha figures show very crude handling but those of Padmapani are very well drawn. The limbs of the body, the drapery and the lotus stalk are all distinctly depicted.

There is a preponderance of the figures of Padmapani in these engravings and all of them, with only two exceptions of standing figures, are seated in the *latitasana* pose. The special preference for this Bodhisattva and the way of depiction at once relegate the engravings to a late date. Some of them also show the diaphanous dress of the Gupta classical art. The Buddha figures are putting on the typical Gandharan robe covering both the shoulders. The body is not well proportioned. The hands and legs have pronounced lengths and they are drawn pillar-like. In such a depiction they stand in great contrast to those of Padmapani. The style of these *Dhyani Buddhas* is entirely different from those seen in the rock engravings in Swat. In these examples the garment is hardly visible separate from the body. There are no lines of folds nor do we have the lower ends falling over the legs. The figures are too rough and crude and they appear to belong to the last stage of Buddhism in this region, when the figures of Padmapani had attracted greater attention of the people but the Buddha had become a mere convention. These figures of Padmapani along with those from Swat seem to belong to the same last period. They can be dated to the 6th-7th centuries A.D., when the Indian influences had brought in Gupta classical elements in this region.

MANE TANGAI

The tall standing boulder about fifteen feet high has its surface

smoothly flattened and a shallow carving has made a niche-like arch. Within this arched panel, at its lower end, two sets of figures have been engraved in shallow relief (Pl. 99 b, No. 194). The figures are six in all.

Pl. 99a; No. 193, is on the extreme south and is the largest seated Buddha in *Dhyani mudra*. The broad shoulder of the Buddha has been exaggerated. The two folded legs can be clearly seen but the hands, which are joined at the lap, are mixed up and their elbows are sharply drawn. The face is rather very crude. The eyes are half closed. On the forehead there is the auspicious mark and the *ushinsha* overhead is distinctly visible. The halo behind the head is very dimly visible.

The second set occupies the northern side of the big boulder (Pl. 99b, No. 194). There are five figures. The two end ones are seated *Dhyani Buddhas* (Pl. 100 b. and c.) at different levels. Though the face of these two figures is decayed, the lotus seat is dimly recognisable. The other three figures can be best seen in pl. 100 a, No. 195. In the centre is seated the Buddha in preaching pose on a lotus seat. The fingers of the hands as well as the face are damaged beyond recognition. But the main body is better drawn in this example. The simple halo behind the head is too large. On his either side stands Padmapani drawn in a fashion inclined towards the Buddha. They are dressed in the Indian dhoti which has its ends falling in front. The upper part of the body is bare with only the upper shawl falling from the left shoulder in a great swoop right across. Their left hand is at the waist or extended down holding the lotus stalk. The right hand of Padmapani on the left is stretched down while that of the other figure is at the chest. The face of both of them is damaged but the halo is slightly visible. These standing figures of Padmapani are equal in height to the seated figure of the Buddha.

Pl. 101 a, No. 198. This figure is carved on an isolated boulder next to the above. Here we find Padmapani seated in *lalitasana* pose on a high seat, with the right leg on the seat and the left hanging down. The folds of the Indian dhoti are distinctly marked. The muscular body is very well drawn. The right hand is folded and the fingers are touching the chin. The left hand is on the thigh, holding the lotus stalk. The face and the head are dimly visible. The halo behind the head is remarkably large. The head is slightly tilted to his left. Similarly the upper half of the body is also slightly tilted. On the whole the figure is very well drawn.

Pl. 101 b, No. 199: On the next boulder we have a composition with Padmapani seated in the middle in the same fashion as given in the earlier figure. At the top on either side of the head of Padmapani there is a seated

Buddha of smaller size. Down below at the seat there is a donor on either side. On the right corner there is another seated Padmapani but it is very badly preserved.

Pl. 102 a, No. 200: On a single boulder a trefoil arch is carved on the rock, the arch is very dimly visible in the photograph. Within this arch the Buddha is seated on a half-blown lotus in the *dhyani mudra*. The face is damaged but the large halo is quite distinct. This type of the Buddha within trefoil arch is a common motif at Chatpat (See pl. 63 b, No. 124).

Pl. 102. b, No. 201: In the next boulder we find two Padmapanis seated in *lalitasana* pose with the lotus stalk held in the left hand, which is resting on the thigh. The right hand is doubled and its fingers are touching the chin. Both of them have halo behind the head.

Pl. 102 c, No. 202: On a small boulder at the farthest end we have two Dhyani Buddhas seated together on a full blown lotus. The detail of the figures is not very clear.

DAMKOT

At the foot of the Damkot hill on the river side there are several boulders still standing on the bank. In their proximity the people still take bath. These people of the locality informed about the rock engravings. They are all in a very bad state of preservation. At present only six boulders contain the carvings. The first boulder has a group. In the middle we have Padmapani (Pl. 103 a, No. 203) seated in *lalitasana* pose with his left hand on the thigh holding the lotus stalk. The right hand is in *Varada mudra*. He is putting on the short Indian dhoti. Behind the head is the large halo. The figure on his left is completely gone while the standing figure on his right is dimly visible. One of his hand is stretched down while the other is at the waist.

The second boulder has become completely dull. It is not illustrated here. There are three figures. One is the Buddha seated in *Bhumisparsha mudra*. On his left two figures are visible. One is seated and the other is standing. They have all halo behind their head.

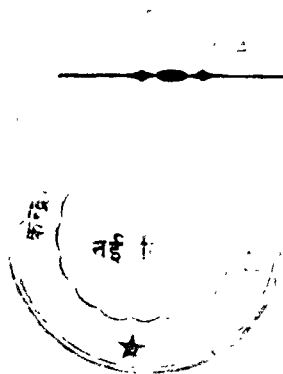
The third boulder has a single figure — a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* pose (pl. 103, b, No. 204). The left hand which is on the thigh is holding the lotus stalk. The right hand is partly broken. The head is slightly tilted to his right and the body is also slightly bent. The large halo behind the head is dimly visible.

The fourth boulder shows a group. In the middle is seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* pose (pl. 103 c, No. 205) with the left hand on the thigh holding the lotus stalk. The right elbow is resting on the right knee and the right arm on right calf. The twisted curls fall on the shoulder. To the right top of the halo is a *Dhyani Buddha*. Perhaps there was another *Dhyani Buddha* on the left top but now broken.

The fifth boulder shows two Padmapanis (Pl. 104 a, No. 206) seated in *lalitasana* pose. The left leg of the left hand figure is hanging down while the right hand figure has the right leg down. The lotus stalk is quite clear in the left hand of the left figure. The right hand of the right figure is on the seat.

The last boulder again shows two Padmapanis (Pl. 104 b, No. 207) seated in the *lalitasana* pose. Their hand poses are exactly alike the right one on the lap and left one on the thigh holding lotus stalk. But the right figure is slightly at a higher level.

All these figures have slim body and put on diaphanous dress. Prof. Tucci has rightly emphasized the Mahayana character of these figures. These rock carvings have a great significance as they bear clear testimony to the continuance of the Gandhara art in this late period of 6th-7th centuries. The recognition of this last phase of the Gandhara art will now enable many art critics to review the dating of many sculptures that lie in the different museums. The Peshawar Museum has quite a few sculptures of this period.



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